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JPRS-EPS-85-076

17 July 1985

19981105 124

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

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17 July 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Link Between Theory, Action Stressed (Jorgji Sota; ZERI I POPULLIT, 17 May 85)	1
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Bratislava: U.S. Exploiting Hijacking To Achieve Military Aims (Michal Michalcik; Bratislava Domestic Service, 24 Jun 85)	5
Commentary Views 'Question' of U.S. Force in Lebanon (Jiri Cebrovsky; Prague Domestic Service, 23 Jun 85)	6
Terrorism 'Not Solution' for Middle East (Pavel Zavadii; CTK, 22 Jun 85)	8
Revanchist Demands Viewed as Threat (RUDE PRAVO, 7 Jun 85)	10
Strougal, Danish Prime Minister Give Dinner Speeches (Prague Television Service, 21 Jun 85; CTK, 21 Jun 85) ...	13
Dinner in Prague	13
Remarks Reported	13
Danish Prime Minister on Four-Day Visit (CTK, 21 Jun 85)	16
Colotka Addresses Hungarian Workers in Gombasek (Prague Domestic Service, 23 Jun 85)	18
Worker Complaints About Incompetence, Injustice (Tibor Kovacik; HALO SOBOTA, 1 Jun 85)	19
Daily Calls for Unity of Lebanese Groupings, Movements (Jaroslav Lajda; ROLNICKE NOVINY, 20 Jun 85)	21

CPCZ Official Discusses 15th CC Session (Jaromir Zak Interview; Prague Domestic Service, 22 Jun 85)	23
Slovak Party To Hold Congress 13 May 1986 (Prague Domestic Service, 21 Jun 85)	27
Chnoupek, Cyprus' Yeoryios Exchange Luncheon Remarks (Prague Domestic Service, 17 Jun 85)	28
Chnoupek Arrives in Netherlands; Meets With Counterpart 24 Jun (Prague Domestic Service, 24 Jun 85)	29
Slovak Industry Ministry Holds Assessment Meeting (Bratislava Domestic Service, 21 Jun 85)	30
Preparations for Methodius Jubilee Underway (RUDE PRAVO, 22 Jun 85)	31
Football League Bans Alcohol, Fires Team Manager (AFP, 21 Jun 85)	32
Briefs	
CSSR Medals to GDR Officers	33
Talks With Syrian Trade Union Group	33
U.S. Security Questioned	33
Colotka's Talks With Hungary's Marjai	34
Trade Minister Visits Province	34
CSSR-UN Activities	34
Deputy Minister Received	34

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Strict Interpretation of Air Sovereignty Laws Defended (Reinhard Mueller; NEUE JUSTIZ, No 9, Sep 84)	35
---	----

POLAND

Hijacking Termed 'Bitter Lesson' After U.S. 'Aggression' (Franciszek Nietz; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 25 Jun 85)	43
Comments on TWA Hijacking (Warsaw Domestic Service, 21 Jun 85)	46
'Political Repercussions' Noted, by Krzysztof Wojna	46
Passengers Appeal Against Force	46
Hijack Tangents	47
Urban 10 June Press Conference 'Transcript' (Jerzy Urban; RZECZPOSPOLITA, 10 Jun 85)	48

Sejm Candidate Requirements Described (Włodzimierz Mokrzyński Interview; TRYBUNA LUDU, 20 Jun 85)	52
Olszowski's Italian Visit Reported (Sławomir Szof; Warsaw Domestic Service, 22 Jun 85)	54
RFE-VOA Quotes of Cardinal Blasted (Warsaw Domestic Service, 23 Jun 85)	56
Summary of Episcopate Conference (Vatican City International Service, 23 Jun 85)	58
Church-State Relations Discussed (Warsaw Domestic Service, 23 Jun 85)	61
Polish Stakhanovite Highlighted in Moscow TRUD (Yu. Vasilkov; TRUD, 21 May 85)	64
Opposition Trial in Katowice (AFP, 21 Jun 85)	66
Jablonski Meets PRC's Wang Renzhong (PAP, 21 Jun 85)	67
Deputy Foreign Minister Recaps Foreign Policy (PAP, 21 Jun 85)	68
Cool Reception for Olszowski in Italy (AFP, 22 Jun 85)	70
Glemp on German Relations (AFP, 23 Jun 85)	71
Michnik Essay Smuggled Out for Publication in West (DER SPIEGEL, No 20, 13 May 85)	72
Health Official Outlines Problem of Alcoholism (Warsaw Domestic Service, 20 Jun 85)	77
Briefs	
Warsaw Plenum on Industry	78
1905 Lodz Uprising Commemorated	78
Urban Defends SOLIDARNOSC Criticism	78
Government's Press Information Policy	78
Shoes to USSR	79
Hungarian Transport Agreement	79
USSR-GDR Attend Navy's Anniversary	79
Ugandan Minister's Visit	79
Polish-British Economic Cooperation	80
Polish-Korean Trade	80

Polish-Swedish Trade	80
Bednarki Meets Czechoslovak Delegation	80
Polish-Yugoslav Plan Coordination	80
Czyrek at Rzeszow Meeting	80
Michalek at Elblag Meeting	80
Kubiak Meets Party Sociologists	80
GDR-Poland Economic Meeting	81
Solomentsev Tour of Warsaw	81

YUGOSLAVIA

Students Charge Police With Harassment at Brezovica Meeting (BORBA, 29 Apr 85)	82
Kosovo Press on Nationalist Incidents, Other Problems (JEDINSTVO, 28 May 85)	85
Briefs	
Grain Theft in Podujevo	87
Hribar Expelled From LC	87
Family Planning in Macedonia	87

ALBANIA

LINK BETWEEN THEORY, ACTION STRESSED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 17 May 85 p 2

[Article by Prof. Jorgji Sota: "Theory is Taught and Animated in the Revolutionary Practice of the Party and the Masses. Studying Volume 44 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha"]

[Text] If, throughout its whole revolutionary life and activity, our party has known nothing but victories, this is due to the fact that the party has always been consistently guided by Marxist-Leninist ideology and has known how to apply it creatively in accordance with the historical tasks of the revolution and of the building of socialism in the country.

It was Comrade Enver Hoxha who placed the party on a sound ideological basis, at its founding, and provided it with a correct political and organizational line. From that time until the present, in very complex situations, he has given original practical solutions, which rest on the foundation of Marxism-Leninist doctrine, to a range of fundamental problems. This experience penetrates Comrade Enver's whole theoretical thought and revolutionary activity. The speech entitled, "We Must Teach Marxist-Leninist Theory in Close Connection with Revolutionary Practice", delivered by Comrade Enver at the Party School and included in Volume 44 of this "Works", is a full confirmation of this thought. In this speech, the deep revolutionary transformations which have been created in our country under the leadership of the party, the role of material and subjective factors, the necessity for a dialectical understanding and interpretation of economic and social phenomena, the need for scientific analysis and synthesis, and the generalization of revolutionary practice are all reasoned from the philosophical standpoint.

The very life of the party and its intensive work for the ideological and political training of communists and workers, the solution, on the Marxist-Leninist path, of various problems in the process of the revolution and socialist construction, the struggle that has been carried out in practice for the application of the line, directives and resolutions of the party and the fact that socialist ideology has been made the ruling ideology in our country - all these represent a great school for the education and tempering of Albanian communists. They prove that the party and Comrade Enver have taught the members of the party to assimilate revolutionary theory in the fire of revolutionary struggle, while developing this struggle according to

the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Enver proceeds on the basis of this principle when he affirms that "we Albanian Marxist-Leninists came to the philosophy of Marx through revolutionary practice."

The party and Comrade Enver have always valued the decisive role played by material factors in the changes which occur in the development of society, whence ideas derive and a new social awareness is formed. But our people have never viewed or conceived these changes as being outside the path of the revolution and the struggle. From this revolutionary experience of many countries, Comrade Enver was impelled to arrive at the conclusion that "on the whole, this constitutes, so to speak, the basis of our Marxist-Leninist ideology," which the party has enriched and raised to a much higher level. But in evaluating the role of material factors, the party has also evaluated - in a Marxist Leninist manner - the great active role of ideal and of the socialist superstructure in general, closely linking its revolutionary nature and that of the party and our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the revolutionizing of the whole life of our country. The party has insisted that the convictions which have been created in actual life be accompanied by deep and lasting ideological convictions which Marxism-Leninism alone creates.

Marxism-Leninism is not taught for erudition, but for application in life. Comrade Enver pointed out that "Knowledge of Marxist-Leninist definitions is important for certain questions, for certain laws of Marxist philosophy or political economy. But it is more important that we teach how to be guided in life by these laws and, on the basis of these laws, how to resolve the concrete problems that confront us. It is important to know the history of the party and its glorious path, but it is more important that there should be a thorough understanding of its point of departure and the method utilized by the party to resolve problems under various conditions, which also involved taking unexplored paths; from this we learn how to resolve current problems under new historical conditions."

These conclusions by Comrade Enver have great general value because they argue - from the dialectical standpoint - for the absolute necessity of linking theory with practice and teaching with life. Whatever definition is given to the method of management, in essence it is the concretization of this linkage, it is the combination of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions of the application of the party's policy. This intertwining and this connection, which represent the most essential aspect of the method, also constitute the highest principle of the party's ideological work.

The works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism constitute the basis for assimilation of Marxist-Leninist theory. But it is very important to bear in mind that assimilation of the theoretical theses of the classic has practical effectiveness when it is closely linked with the theoretical thought of the party and of Comrade Enver, where the creative application of universal laws and principles are generalized under Albanian conditions, and where a synthesis is made of the great experience of the revolution and socialist construction

in our country, of the struggle of the party and our people against imperialism and modern revisionism. Such study alone helps the communists and workers to assimilate better and more rapidly the general line of the party and its style and method in the resolution of problems, as well as to give them the militant spirit and lofty principled nature which characterize our party.

The 8th Party Congress has emphasized the need for a further qualitative increase in work for the education of communists and workers, in accordance with the tasks of the times. The point is that our people should be properly provided ideologically with the Marxist world outlook and methodology; they should be properly formed from the theoretical standpoint and they should not simply be taught some theoretical theses and conclusions. This is a necessary condition for combatting both manifestations of dogmatism and empiricism, as well as lifeless theorizing and narrow over-emphasis of practice. We stress this because, despite the achievements, there are still communists and cadres who do not make the necessary efforts to assimilate theory, who have a narrow comprehension of the problems and tasks that are assigned and of the directives that given, and who do not delve deeply into their ideological content and their theoretical aspect. Without this, it is difficult for tasks to be put into practice as required. It is especially important to make it clear that many defects in work come precisely from weakness in ideological and political formation. In this context, it is sufficient to mention the special importance that is always attached to the knowledge and conscientious utilization of the objective laws of socialism, upon which the whole economic policy of the party is based. Life has proven that every defect in this area leads inevitably to subjective concepts and actions which harm the scientific direction of work and restrain and deform the processes of economic and social development.

Comrade Enver has stressed many times that Marxism-Leninism is taught and assimilated by taking an active part in the daily struggle for the building of socialism. This purpose is also served by the many revolutionary actions, initiatives and movements which have been undertaken and are being undertaken by workers in the area of production and in other areas, such as the recent one by the collective of the "Enver Hoxha" Tractor Combine "Standard-Bearers of the Application of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Teachings" which has been widely disseminated throughout the whole country. At their foundation, these initiatives and movements have a sound ideological and educational content and they strive not only for a rapid, qualitative resolution of tasks, but also for the education of people with a lofty socialist awareness and a spirit of revolutionary militancy.

A great merit of the party and of Comrade Enver consists in the fact that they have never separated words from deeds and political line, and they have always viewed these as a unity and an organic connection in terms of their being put into practice. In this matter, they have always proceeded from the principle, as Comrade Enver stressed in a general way at the 8th Party Congress, that "human action is successful when, aside from educational work, it is properly supported by economic, organizational and administrative measures." Cases where problems are treated in a one-sided manner must be considered as manifestations of subjectivism: where the causes of defects and weaknesses are

sought only in ideological and political work or in the method and style of management, where it is thought that a condition can be changed and improved by speeches and meetings, and without actions and concrete measures.

The party and its levers have great tasks in the communist education and revolutionary tempering of workers. This task is even greater with respect to our schools in general, where the foundations of the ideological of youth are laid, where the habits and methods of study are acquired, and where perseverance and passion for learning are forged. "The mission of our schools," Comrade Enver stresses, "is not only to give pupils and students Marxist knowledge, but also to educate them as revolutionaries; not only to provide them with a correct theoretical world-outlook, but also to cultivate lofty moral and political qualities in them." These teachings are and will always remain all the more important for the "V.I. Lenin" Higher Party School and for courses and other forms of education in the party. In assigning these tasks, Comrade Enver also makes perfectly clear the revolutionary concept regarding study which must be inculcated in every cadre. "Everyone," he emphasizes, "should read not for the sake of reading, but should be confronted with what he reads, should reflect on it, should find its good aspects, which constitute positive experience, as well as its weak points, and the tasks which emerge from it."

Comrade Enver showed particular and continual attention for the Party School as the highest educational institution in the party, so that it should give cadres not merely some Marxist knowledge, but should train them in such a way that they may become as useful as possible and may orientate themselves in life, so that it should form in them a Marxist way of thinking and acting in order that they may accomplish the party's tasks as well as possible. "This is achieved," Comrade Enver teaches us, "when Marxist-Leninist theory is taught not in an abstract, academic, bookish manner, but in close connection with life, with the revolutionary practice of the masses." All the work which is developed in the Party School has had and continues to have these teachings and instructions of Comrade Enver at its foundation.

Comrade Enver gave very valuable directives and advice to the Party School recently, as well as giving instructions to the effect that "... you should acquire knowledge by studying the materials of the party and of Marxism-Leninism which, now more than ever before, constitute an absolute necessity as indispensable as the air we breathe every moment and the bread we eat." The students and teachers of the Party School will devote all their efforts and energies to making these instructions a reality, so that the Party School, as Comrade Enver instructed, should always remain an institution and a burning hearth of the revolution.

12249

CSO: 2100/39

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRATISLAVA: U.S. EXPLOITING HIJACKING TO ACHIEVE MILITARY AIMS

LD240907 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0500 GMT 24 Jun 85

[Commentary by Michal Michalcik]

[Excerpts] The air disaster involving Air India Boeing-747 has been the first item in the newscasts carried by all radio stations and companies.

Both the Air India Boeing-747 disaster and the incident at Tokyo Airport, where a bomb exploded on board of a CP Air airliner, will apparently provide a very suitable pretext for George Bush, the American vice president, who, during his tour of Western Europe, intends, among other things, to enlist the support of America's allies to fight against international terrorism. Of course, similar tragedies caused by bomb explosions or hijacking of aircraft cannot be described in any other way but acts of terrorism. Washington, however, openly supports terrorism, although in a different form, and is attempting to exploit the latest hijacking of the American airliner to achieve its military strategic objectives: In Lebanon, through the threat of an overt aggression, which would give the United States and its protege back their lost positions in that country; and by putting pressure on Greece the Reagan administration wants to bring about a change in the hitherto realistic course pursued by the Papandreou government.

CSO: 2400/499

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

COMMENTARY VIEWS 'QUESTION' OF U.S. FORCE IN LEBANON

LD232316 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 23 Jun 85

[Commentary by Jiri Cebrovsky]

[Text] The subject of the following commentary is the tense situation in the Middle East. It was written by Jiri Cebrovsky.

Nine days is, in relative terms, a very short time, but for the Middle East these last 216 hours have been a period full of nervousness, tension and foreboding. For 9 days now, the Boeing-727 has been standing at Beirut Airport, and some of its passengers are hidden away somewhere in the Lebanese capital. Over these 9 days there has been a lot of talk, discussion, gesturing, bargaining, threats, hush-hush behind-the-scenes activity and haggling--all geared toward securing the release of the hostages.

In the meantime, the U.S. aircraft carrier "Nimitz" is kicking its heels off the Lebanese coast along with a flotilla of other ships, and the members of the U.S. Delta special attack force are on full alert in Cyprus, just waiting for the word go. Amidst all this, a large number of question marks hang over the fate of the 40 American passengers and of the more than 700 Shi'ites detained in Israeli prisons. Even more questions remain to be answered about the chances and methods of resolving the situation that has developed.

According to the Lebanese paper AL-NAHAR, a four-point plan exists which would lead to the release of the hostages. AL-NAHAR writes that the detained passengers would obtain their freedom in return for the United States condemning the violation of international law, including the forced removal and imprisonment of Shi'ites in Israel. This, however, defies all credulity. To believe that Washington would publicly pillory and criticize its greatest ally in the Middle East would be to believe that the Reagan administration were capable of criticizing itself and its own aggressive Middle East policy.

There remains, therefore, only one point at issue, but a very complex point indeed. This is the question of American intervention in the form of U.S. Marines landing in Lebanon. It would not be the first time such a thing has happened. Let us recall 1958. Let us recall the shells and mines from the colossal "New Jersey" which 2 years ago killed tens of hundreds of

Lebanese. Let us recall too the events in 1980, the so-called Operation Blue Light set in motion by former U.S. President Carter, which ended in ghastly failure in the Iranian desert.

In the United States, anti-Lebanese fever is reaching the boiling point in a mood of chauvinism which, on the pretext of liberating the American citizens, is pushing for a new act of aggression. In a fit of anger and hate, Senator Anderson has called for Beirut to be bombed. More than 30 years ago General MacArthur called for North Korea to be covered with a blanket of nuclear bombs. Other figures have taken up the anti-Arab cudgel. President Reagan is calling for a boycott of Greece, but isn't quite able to explain why. Even former British Prime Minister Callaghan--the same man who, in his day, made arrangements for the bloodbath of Northern Irish patriots--has joined the fray against so-called world terrorism.

Emotions, it seems, are gaining the upper hand, but things are not quite what they seem, because the passengers taken captive from the American plane are, in fact, the ideal excuse to justify American aggression, to lend weight to the policy of force, to send aircraft and ships to the Lebanese coast, to provide grounds for the U.S. military presence in the Middle East, in such a strategically, politically, and economically important area.

It is only to be expected, furthermore, that Washington will want to extract propaganda points from the whole affair. Neither could it or should it be thought that the sole interest of the Reagan administration is the release of the American citizens. What is at stake here is the interests of Washington and the Pentagon--the so-called peace process in the form of Palestinian-Jordanian-American talks--a new Camp David. What is at stake is the interests of the United States in the Middle East--both oil and military interests.

The negotiations have been going on for 9 days now, the hostages are still somewhere in Beirut, and some 700 Lebanese are still in Israeli prisons. For 9 days too, Washington has been frantically kicking around the idea of using force. (?All the options) are being weighed up--Iran is fading into oblivion. Nine days of confusion and waiting. For the Middle East, a period of difficult tests and nervous foreboding and fear. Nine days that are causing concern to the whole world.

CSO: 2400/499

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

TERRORISM 'NOT SOLUTION' FOR MIDDLE EAST

LD221156 Prague CTK in English 1050 GMT 22 Jun 85

[Article by Pavel Zavadil]

[Text] Prague, 22 June (CTK)--The drama of passengers of a TWA airliner, hijacked by armed men whose main demand is to end another drama--of more than 700 Lebanese Shi'ites held for months in Israeli prisons, has been lasting for over a week.

The demand for the release of the imprisoned Lebanese is not new, and has been repeatedly made by the Arab and world public since these people were dragged from Lebanon to Israel.

However, Israel remains deaf to these demands, undoubtedly also because its protector, the United States, condescendingly watches its conduct also in this respect.

The U.S., referring to the necessity not to give way to terrorism, has not shown interest even in the present crisis to make Israel to contribute to its solution. On the other hand, it makes gestures which are a threat to Lebanon on whose territory the hijacked airliner and the rest of the passengers is.

Thus, tension is again increasing around Lebanon, tension in which the United States is interested because it enables it to interfere, primarily through Israel, into Lebanon's affairs. At the same time the tension in Lebanon is spreading to the whole area.

Regardless of the motives, the action of the hijackers of the U.S. airliner objectively serves forces which are not interested in a positive solution of the Middle East situation, and thus also not in the situation of people about whom the hijackers claim that they are in their interest.

Though similar actions cannot be expected to end completely as long as the situation producing them--i.e., U.S. support for Israel--exists, terrorism--and air piracy is its particularly condemnable form--is not a solution for the Middle East. As has been stressed many times, only talks can bring a solution, talks attended by all sides concerned.

CSO: 2020/147

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

REVANCHIST DEMANDS VIEWED AS THREAT

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jun 85 p 1

[Text] The 40th anniversary of the crushing of Hitler's fascism at the end of the second World War presented an important opportunity, especially for the European nations, to express their unshakeable determination to never again permit new war horrors. In many gatherings, in speeches and articles rang words of appreciation for the 40 years of life in peace, appreciation of the just postwar arrangement in Europe as a reliable basis for peaceful coexistence. The enduring efforts by countries of the socialist community and all peace-loving forces to ward off threats of a new war, to bring about a cooperation among nations based on trust, is also meeting with appreciation and sympathy.

However, it is almost beyond belief that certain circles to the west of our borders, with a stubborn refusal to learn, are closing their eyes to the postwar reality and are assiduously trying to deny it. They are casting doubts on the results of the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences by the victorious powers, accompanying it with open attacks on the legality of current borders in Europe and proclaiming a demand to revize them according to the map of the prewar "German Empire."

And that is not all. Some so-called compatriots' associations of former displaced people from the German Socialist Republic inscribed the revanchist territorial demands on their banners. They have been demanding some kind of right to a homeland in the Czechoslovak borderlands, in Silesia and other regions, where formerly the aggressive Drang nach Osten--attack on the East-- was directed.

Particularly arrogant were the revanchist demands on the occasion of the recent 36th Sudeten German rally in Stuttgart, where spokesmen for the former displaced people not only repeated the assertions about the "German question being open", but they supplemented this provocative thesis in the sense that the "Sudeten German question also remains open".

But the former followers of Henlein also consider as "open" the Munich dictate of 1938, because, they say, it was an "act in accordance with international law!" They pay no attention to the fact that the Federal Government itself in its 1973 Treaty on Mutual Relations Between the German Federal Republic and Czechoslovakia recognized the infamous Munich "agreement" as being null and void. They of course enfold their revanchist demands in a flood of phrases about some historical rights, about aspects of international law, etc.

The chairman of the Sudeten German Landsmanschaft, Jürg Kudlich last year put it this way: "Aware of our rights and strength, we want to insist unceasingly on our homeland, our lawful demands and life interests of the generation that is growing up, and on our willingness to meet with our neighbor nations to the east, provided they are ready to acknowledge and rectify wrongs and exile...." And further: "When we are talking about the open German question, then the question includes not only the Federal Republic and Central Germany, but also the territories beyond the Oder and Nisa. The unresolved and open Sudeten German question is part of that, also."

Kudlich could not have said it more openly. The attempts of some representatives of the German Federal Government to present these revanchist associations as innocent compatriot groups, and furthermore their official presence and expression of greeting at rallies of the "landsmanschaft" cannot therefore be construed in any other way than as encouragement and protection. After all, Chancellor Kohl stated at one of these revanchist rallies last year that "the German question remains open" but that "today it is not on the agenda of world politics" and that it is necessary only "to take a deep, long breath and await history." Thus he only encouraged the notorious revanchists to hope that they can reach their goals, which cannot be realized today, at a later time when they find the situation "more favorable."

But at stake is not only the encouragement of revanchist illusions. At stake is not just the revanchist panorama. The strengthening of the revanchist faith in the German Federal Republic is happening because it has been elevated practically to a kind of religion. In spite of all the international documents, agreements and treaties, in spite of explicit principles of the Closing Act of the Helsinki Conference on Safety and Cooperation in Europe, official functionaries and federal authorities refer to paradoxical formulations of the Federal Constitution and findings of the Federal Constitutional Court, according to which the German state remain within the 1937 borders. More than 60 statutes and decrees challenge the territorial sovereignty of USSR, Poland, the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia. The second tribunal of the Federal Constitutional Court proclaimed on 31 July 1973 the German Federal Republic to be "a state identical with the state of the German Reich."

Such formulations are meant to give the West German revanchism a certain "legal base."

In the thesis on the so-called openness of the German question lies a poorly hidden ambition of the German Federal Republic to "unite all Germans"--therefore the people of the German Democratic Republic as well--under the national emblem of the Federal Republic. After all, the illusory right to speak in the name of all Germans--even those who are citizens of other countries--according to the notorious Hallstein doctrine, has been claimed by each of the federal governments to date.

As the spokesman for the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasized in the proclamation protesting the 36th Sudeten German rally, the hopes for realizing the revanchist goals are ever more clearly connected with the American position of strength policy, with the deployment of American nuclear missiles of first

strike in the German Federal Republic and other Western European countries, with the escalating arms build-up in NATO, and with the newest American plans for militarization of space.

A truly scandalous "shot in the arm" for the German neofascists and revanchists was the pilgrimage of U.S. President R. Reagan with a wreath of "reconciliation" to the graves of soldiers of Hitler's Wehrmacht and SS murderers in Bitburg. It is not surprising that West German revanchists are eager to rally under the standard of Reagan's "crusade" against socialism.

We are not condemning these manifestations out of fear. Our concern is that the situation in Europe does not deteriorate, that the peoples of NATO member countries realize that neofascism and revanchism present a danger to them as well.

The European nations paid dearly for their experience with Hitler's revanchism and fascism. That is why they value peace even more. However at the same time--as is evidenced by the constantly growing antiwar movement and an unceasing struggle against the threat of a new war--they realize that they must speak out as forcefully as possible against all efforts to revise the results of the glorious victory over fascism and the postwar peacetime arrangements in Europe, they must not permit a renewed threat to peace.

This is not the year 1933, or 1936, or 1939. Hitler's "German Reich" perished in the flames of the Second World War. In Europe a state of German workers and farmers came into existence, which by its very birth dealt a heavy blow to German revanchism and militarism. Other socialist countries came into existence, which provided for themselves through their alliance--the Warsaw Pact--a reliable protection of their borders and peaceful life. On the resoluteness and strength of this defensive alliance, on the unity of all antiwar forces, the present plans of revanchists and would-be "heirs" of Hitler's reich surely must founder.

CSSR is interested in good neighborly relations with the German Federal Republic. In practice it also confirms its desire and willingness to open a dialogue with the German Federal Republic on the basis of the Treaty on Mutual Relations of 1973 and the Joint Declarations of 11 April 1978, signed on the occasion of the official visit of Comrade Gustavo Husak to the German Federal Republic. But its borders, which are common borders of the socialist community, it will not allow to be disturbed.

12605

CSO: 2400/457

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

STROUGAL, DANISH PRIME MINISTER GIVE DINNER SPEECHES

Dinner in Prague

LD211924 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 21 Jun 85

[No video available]

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal gave a dinner today in the Cernin Palace in Prague in honor of Poul Schlueter, prime minister of the Kingdom of Denmark, and his wife. It was attended by Deputy Federal Premiers Ladislav Gerle, Josef Korcak, Karol Laco, Jaromir Obzina and Svatopluk Potac; federal ministers, and other representatives of our political and public life.

Lubomir Strougal and Poul Schlueter made speeches at the dinner.

Remarks Reported

LD212138 Prague CTK in English 1824 GMT 21 Jun 85

[Text] Prague June 21 (CTK)--Ten years will have passed shortly since the pledge was signed at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Helsinki to secure conditions for life in peace, Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal said here today at a dinner given in honour of Danish Premier Poul Schluter.

"Therefore, we cannot passively watch the continued arms race, deployment of new missiles, not to see and hear that nuclear potentials are being increased, and plans even made for the militarization of space," the premier said and added that "together with these apocalyptic intentions, practices of trade embargo, political terrorism are being used, sovereign governments are threatened with warships and the moods of revanchism are spreading in Europe."

"We need just the opposite. We want confidence and mutual respect to be restored, agreements on which our security is based to be preserved, the reality of military balance to be recognized," Lubomir Strougal emphasized and pointed out that it is necessary to take a positive stance on the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries wherever they are

addressed, to Geneva, Stockholm or Vienna, because not only Europe but the whole world has no other option than the preservation of peace and prevention of a global nuclear catastrophe in which there would be no winners.

The Czechoslovak premier said that he believes that "our talks will revive and promote not only relations between Czechoslovakia and Denmark but that they will be a contribution to the world-wide dialogue in dealing with the problems of nuclear and space armament, in liquidation of all hotbeds of war."

"The principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, mutual respect, equality applied in our relations is yielding good fruit... Let us not forget the sphere of education, culture, art and science where many possibilities have not yet been utilized," Lubomir Strougal underlined.

Speaking of trade and economic cooperation, he said that the two countries' trade remains rather low which does not correspond to the possibilities and needs of the two countries' economies.

Lubomir Strougal pointed out that the two countries should make greater use of advanced forms of cooperation, especially industrial, and in projects on third markets.

Danish Prime Minister Poul Schluter noted in his speech at the dinner given in his honour by Premier Lubomir Strougal that East-West relations and especially the relations between the two powers do not give any reason for optimism, and that it (?is) vitally important for dialogue to continue as well as efforts to lessen tension and strengthen stability and cooperation.

The best conceivable confidence-building measure would be the reaffirmed pledge of all countries which participated in the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to respect the principles and provisions of the Final Act, and their observance in practice, the Danish prime minister said.

He noted that great progress was made since 1945, especially as regards international principles for the protection of human rights, and that both Denmark and Czechoslovakia joined all major international measures in this sphere.

He noted that there are no problems in bilateral relations which could not be jointly solved, but that in East-West relations, all countries must be ready to take steps that might improve the situation and increase stability. This must be done with full respect for the internal unity of the alliance to which the countries belong, and not in a way that would jeopardize fundamental security interests.

A prerequisite of fruitful dialogue is for both sides to have the feeling that their security is ensured, Prime Minister Schluter said, adding that in the year of the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Final Act, it is

possible to say that the process initiated by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe proved its worth as a means of communications which would be capable of functioning also in the course of difficult phases of East-West relations.

The prime minister also spoke of imbalance in bilateral trade, and welcomed the attention centred on Denmark by Czechoslovak authorities and foreign trade corporations. He said that the long-term program of economic and industrial cooperation promises results.

CSO: 2400/499

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DANISH PRIME MINISTER ON FOUR-DAY VISIT

LD211728 Prague CTK in English 1520 GMT 21 Jun 85

[Text] Prague, 21 June (CTK)--Danish prime minister Poul Schluter arrived here today for an official visit at the invitation of federal Premier Lubomir Strougal.

He was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by the premier and other political and public personalities.

The four-day official visit of the Danish prime minister is the first on this level between the two countries. It is also Poul Schluter's first visit to a socialist country in his office.

After the visits of Czechoslovak foreign minister Bohuslav Chnoupek to Copenhagen in 1984 and his Danish colleague Uffe Ellemann-Jensen to Prague in 1983, the present stay of Poul Schluter confirms the rising trend in political dialogue between the two countries.

The aim of the Danish premier's talks with higher Czechoslovak officials will be to mutually explain their stands on major international issues. Czechoslovakia appreciates the stand on the Danish parliament thanks to which nuclear weapons must not be deployed in Denmark. The country also rejects U.S. plans for militarization of space. Both also agree on the necessity to preserve peace in the world and continue the policy of detente.

The visit of Poul Schluter is also to boost the development of economic contacts, now based on the long-term program of economic, industrial and technical cooperation. This program, signed last year during the visit of Czechoslovak foreign trade minister Bohumil Urban to Denmark, is valid for ten years and provides for expansion of joint production of machines and equipment, cooperation in electronics and electrical engineering and cooperation on third markets.

In 1978-1983, Czechoslovak-Danish trade exchanges doubled. Another doubling is expected in the next eight years. Denmark is Czechoslovakia's 12th biggest trade partner among developed capitalist states.

Czechoslovak exports to Denmark include many engineering products, particularly tractors, machine tools, electric motors and passenger cars--7,000-8,000 of the latter annually.

CSO: 2020/147

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

COLOTKA ADDRESSES HUNGARIAN WORKERS IN GOMBASEK

LD232221 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 23 Jun 85

[Text] The 30th annual cultural festival of Hungarian workers in Czechoslovakia ended today in Gombasek with a rally of workers and young people. Peter Colotka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak premier, heading a delegation of the CPSL Central Committee and the Slovak government, pointed out in his speech the contribution of workers of Hungarian nationality to the building of our socialist country. He also stressed the value of cooperation between the socialist states, and emphasized the need to increase efforts in the fight for peace and to step up the economic and defensive might of our country in the interests of preserving the peaceful life and consolidating the unity of the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union. Today's program in the Gombasek amphitheater was devoted to International Youth Year.

The cultural festival of Ukrainian workers in Czechoslovakia ended today in Svidnik. More than 40 folk ensembles appeared during the festival. Miroslav Valek, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and Slovak minister of culture, heading a delegation of the CPSL Central Committee and the Slovak government, noted in his speech that the only guarantee for strengthening and further increasing the living standard of the working people is the results of honest, high-quality, and highly efficient work in all sectors.

CSO: 2400/499

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

WORKER COMPLAINTS ABOUT INCOMPETENCE, INJUSTICE

Prague HALO SOBOTA in Czech 1 Jun 85 p 1

[Letter to the editor by Tibor Kovacik: "A Word From a Worker"]

[Text] I closely read your article, "What Two Working Generations Think" (HALO SOBOTA, No 18, 1 May 1985). It contained a vital truth which is a thorn in the eye for some people today. Antonin Maly, hero of socialist labor, and I are apparently of the same "blood group." The only difference between us is in years: I am 53 years old, a "grandpa," and a 32-year party member. I fulfilled many unpaid functions and worked as a school director for a long time, but I returned to the "workbench."

I was able to allow myself this because I am a practical man, not a theoretician, and I know my specialty from A to Z. I'm not boasting—that's a fact which results from the system of basic education in those days. Today, however, I must really complain that there is a lot of theory and little practice. A certain comrade who, in his old age, was indoctrinated by educators (in 1983), once said to me, "An apprentice must study what has already been learned." I disagree, and I will go further. It makes a difference whether or not superiors know, so to speak, their ABC's. If "specialists" in a field can't prove to you that two times two is four, they might as well tell you that two times two is ten, but that doesn't come under their authority. Then the worker would necessarily be guilty for the plan not being fulfilled, but those who are paid for organization and administration, they are somehow without blame.

Let us take education in the schools. Sometimes it is completely abused because it is required even where nothing works, where knowhow and ability are the determinants. After, it is precisely here that the bureaucracy and its machinery find fertile soil. I remember the words of Comrade Strougal, who criticized rampant administration. Overnight, it happened that a worker who had been classified as category A became a "technician." Since that time and in that way the number of officials-in-charge has grown. But people at the workbenches are mistaken too: It is said, "They are not people." They are, but in the wrong places. What do I see: occasionally apprentices, some of whom are a laugh to those with experience and practice, become technical experts.

Let us just look at the foremen. Some of them, after all, don't even properly know their trade. They simply didn't earn their way in life. Thanks to various

circumstances and cozy friends they were simply put into these functions. This requires a proper "payment" for the current specialist-foreman.

Furthermore, the comrades in the CKD [Czech-Moravian Kodan-Danek Factory] are right: certain people in the administration of factories don't mix with the workers, and salaried officials at best visit the offices. Meetings are a formality--suggestions for discussion--just so nothing is said.... But in reports "to the top" everything is okay. Let's leave it at that!

And something else--the distribution of various vouchers in the ROH [Revolutionary Union Movement]. It's getting so that when it's a matter of foreign vouchers, they are divided into "legal" vouchers, which section stewards get, and "illegal" ones, which are already "given out" ahead of time. I am sure this isn't so everywhere, but it is getting to be. This, too, must be straightened out. Perhaps I'd like to know who has been abroad on vacation and how many times.

That which the fathers and sons from the CKD said goes right to my heart. Unfortunately, there is the official who views the worker haughtily, or shows off in his dealings with him. He speaks in his name but he does not visit him or live with him.

I very much respect what Comrade Gorbachev says. For instance, he said that quality is a slogan that must be primary. Yes, quality everywhere--in shops and offices. Quality is the magic word that has also been stressed in our country for years. But it seems as if it only applies to workers. I ask, how can quality be maintained when, in many cases, technological advances which no capitalist would allow to be stymied are not followed through on. That is how "DODO" ("finish it at home") products then appear. But why? Because a foreman allows a worker to do this, and this they shame themselves and the whole factory.

An administrator might say that we produce quality because complaints have decreased. He did not say, however, that we could sell at a greater profit if technological advances were seen through.

I would be glad and appreciate it if workers, too, would be allowed to speak about these things in RUDE PRAVO. That's why I am writing this letter. Let it be an instigation for public discussion.

12290

CSO: 2400/447

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DAILY CALLS FOR UNITY OF LEBANESE GROUPINGS, MOVEMENTS

AU211515 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 20 Jun 85 p 7

[Article by Jaroslav Lajda: "The Holding of Hostages--A Pretext for U.S. Intervention?!; They Are Sowing Wind and Will Reap a Storm"]

[Text] The hijackers of the airliner belonging to the American TWA aviation company, which is still at Beirut Airport, on Tuesday released three travelers they held--a Greek, an American woman, and an American of Greek origin. However, they continue to hold about 30 travelers, the majority of which are American citizens.

The hijacking and the fate of the hostages is at the center of attention in Lebanon and in the Arab world, as well as in other countries. It is generally thought that this action will further aggravate the situation in Lebanon, and it could even end with a much greater tragedy.

Let us recall that the hijackers, who belong to the Shi'ite Moslems, demand in exchange for the hostages the release of about 776 Lebanese citizens, which Israeli troops had dragged off to the Israeli jail of Atlit, and two Lebanese held in jail in Spain. As we have already reported, Spain has to date refused to free the jailed Lebanese, and Israel even refuses to negotiate with the Red Cross about the hijackers' demands. However, the one who really plays the decisive role in this drama is attested to by the Israeli rejoinder that they would "consider" releasing the jailed Lebanese if the U.S. Government requested it...

However, the Reagan government has thus far not requested it. At a press conference on Tuesday, the American President only announced that his government has decided to upgrade the protection of American airliners on international routes, and at the same time demanded the "immediate release" of the hostages in Beirut without any preconditions." However, as other facts show, the American Government has actually set preconditions already: At least 7 American warships, among them the aircraft carrier "Nimitz," the cruiser "South Carolina," and three invasion vessels with 1,800 specially trained troops aboard are on the way to, or are already cruising near the Lebanese coast. In addition, Delta--a special unit of the American Army--is ready in Cyprus and is waiting for an order to free the hostages.

Let us recall that an attempt to free hostages with force had already been undertaken during James Carter's tenure by especially trained units in Iran. As is known, the attempt ended in a fiasco. In this case, however, the situation is more complex and more dangerous.

Behind the actions of the U.S. Government, behind its unwillingness to solve the present situation through negotiations, hides an overt threat of American intervention in Lebanon, and even--as the Lebanese daily AN-NIDA [spelling as received] wrote--"President Reagan will try to provoke a confrontation with Syria." Syria's firm stand, namely, is the greatest obstacle to the realization of the aggressive Israeli and U.S. anti-Arab plans. The situation in Lebanon, aggravated by the hijacking of an American airliner and the holding of American citizens hostage, could for the current American Government be a "sufficient" pretext for a new, bloody adventure in the Middle East.

The troubled situation in Lebanon, caused by Israel with the full support and assistance of the United States, and the systematic sabotaging of the Palestinian problem makes this part of the world a powder keg with the fuse burning. How long the fuse is and when the fire will reach the detonator is something that no one knows today. However, one thing is certain: Neither Israel nor the United States is among those who are trying to prevent an explosion. On the contrary, everything attests to the fact that they are interested in the situation becoming even more aggravated.

In connection with the present situation in Lebanon, one has to recall the agreement signed in Damascus on 18 June by representatives of the Amal Shi'ite Movement and the Palestinian Front of National Salvation on ending the fighting for the control of Palestinian refugee camps in West Beirut, fighting that lasted almost 4 weeks. The agreement envisages (among other stipulations) the withdrawal of Amal units and of the government's 6th Brigade from the Palestinian camps, the return of refugees from the combat zone, and the release of all persons taken prisoner and of detainees. According to--thus far unverified--reports, the fighting claimed about 600 lives and more than 2,500 injured.

The importance of that agreement has increased precisely now, when the country is threatened with the intervention of the United States (and fairly possibly also of Israel). From this point of view, the ending of hostilities among the individual Lebanese political and religious groupings and movements is very urgent.

CSO: 2400/499

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ OFFICIAL DISCUSSES 15TH CC SESSION

LD231351 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1040 GMT 22 Jun 85

[Interview with Jaromir Zak, deputy head of the CPCZ Central Committee Economic Department, on "Saturday's Interview" by editor Antonin Falta, on the results of the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committee; date not given--recorded]

[Text] [Falta] The report placed special importance on economic and social development. What do you regard, Comrade Zak, as the key in this matter?

[Zak] I would like to stress above all the very realistic and somber approach to the assessment of the implementation of the line that was set by the 16th congress for this key area of party policy. The fact that, despite the well known very serious difficulties connected with the growth of costs in obtaining fuel and energy sources and raw materials, that despite lower harvests during the initial years of the 5-year plan and the complicated situation in relations with the capitalist countries, we have been in essence successful in securing the basic congress directive--to maintain the attained high living standard of people--is undoubtedly a marked success. We have all the prerequisites therefore to meet, and in some respects also to exceed, the targets set in the 7th 5-Year Plan. We must however totally ensure that the plan for this year is fulfilled comprehensively.

[Falta] The report speaks openly about problems and shortcomings.

[Zak] Yes, despite the overall positive results we do not lose sight of the problems and shortcomings which we are encountering. On the contrary, the speech delivered by the party's general secretary, Comrade Husak, pointed very critically at a whole number of shortcomings of a subjective character, the solution to which is within our resources. It does not cost money and needs no further manpower. I think that there is no need to analyze here questions concerning such phenomena as waste, low quality of output, subjectivism in capital construction, problems in effective utilization of some manufacturing capacities, qualification of the labor force, justice in remuneration, strengthening of discipline and order, red tape and shortcomings in managerial work connected with all of this.

[Falta] After all, this was not the first time that these shortcomings were mentioned.

[Zak] Certainly, the fact however remains, and this must be stressed above all, that it is necessary to raise radically the capacity to implement the party's resolutions and to ensure consistent harmony between words and actions. The implementation of the party's directives in specific conditions cannot be ensured by simply repeating them instead of taking specific measures, as we often witness.

[Falta] As the report says, we no longer have scope for compromises and toleration.

[Zak] This would be to the detriment of the party, all of society and all those who work honestly.

[Falta] The kind of policy intentions the party is setting out in connection with the preparation of the 17th congress are of special importance for the whole of our community. Comrade Zak, what is especially important here?

[Zak] If the 16th congress set out the task to maintain attained living standards, then the directive has been set for the coming period to ensure further growth in all aspects. This is understandably a very demanding task. This is why the demand to speed up the process of intensification of the economy, bring about a radical turn from quantity to quality, tap all the reserves at our disposal but above all to galvanize scientific and technological development, has been set forth with such urgency.

[Falta] What, therefore, are the prerequisites for accelerating this strategic task, and I am talking about the development of sciences and technology?

[Zak] This is a key issue. You will meet hardly anyone who doubts that the future of our society, and the strength of socialism is closely linked with the development of sciences and technology. There are, however, not a small number of such managerial workers who claim that their products are top level, although they well know that they are not when compared with the world's top level products, or those who prefer to tread asphalt paved pavements rather than proceed along untrod paths. And there are also such people who harshly criticize those who do not avoid pitfalls and who sometimes make a wrong step instead of seeking all available means to make their path easier to tread. This applies and is targeted above all, on some officials of higher management bodies, including the central ones. At issue are thus two important aspects: Firstly, a sufficient amount of will to want to develop, and secondly, the ability to do it. It was quite rightly stated at the Central Committee's session that we cannot be satisfied with the pace and breadth of the application of scientific and technological progress, and this is also the reason why the requirement to introduce order in the capital investment sector, achieve marked progress in the intensification of socialist economic integration and the implementation of substantial changes in the economic mechanism, was raised so sharply--why such emphasis was placed on raising the standard of direct managerial work in general. We must intensify our efforts above all in drawing up the long-range outlook for the development of our economy, to work out thoroughly long-range concepts for the development of branches and key production sectors.

[Falta] Here the report talks about the year of 2000.

[Zak] In this regard what is also involved is the new quality of the preparation of the congress. To form a solid and comprehensive concept of the structural development of the national economy, the horizon of the 5-year plan is too short. Only on this basis is it possible to draw the concept of an objective investment policy, tasks of the development of sciences and technology, ensure the implementation of the conclusions of the CEMA summit conference on economic issues as well as the implementation of the recently signed long-range program for economic, scientific and technological cooperation with the Soviet Union, which we regard as keys for the attainment of our objectives. This calls above all for the improvement of the quality and strengthening of central management and planning and full utilization of the advantages of the management of a socialist economy.

[Falta] Here we have come to an issue that has been the subject of discussions--the improvement of the economic mechanism.

[Zak] This is an exceptionally important issue. At issue here are not, as has been stressed, any market concepts, but above all the strengthening of the conceptual [konceptnostni] work of the central bodies, their ability to manage and take decisions with expertise, and not only on the basis of reports, returns and statements. What matters further is to strengthen the powers of enterprises and working collectives in order to be able, and I stress this, to apply their initiative fully. At the same time the issue is also to raise their responsibility for meeting the requirements of the whole of society.

[Falta] I have found here in the report a remark made by Comrade Husak: Raising the effectiveness of the economic mechanism cannot be tackled with undue delay.

[Zak] In this respect we must indeed take decisive steps also during the period of the 8th 5-Year Plan. Very closely linked with the improvement of the economic mechanism is the problem of raising the standard of direct managerial work. A high degree of accountability, of organization of work, strict observation of state and planning discipline, supervision, fight against the tendency to take the easiest course, against routine, the will to want to achieve the maximum, naturally not for oneself but for the community--these are the requirements placed on leading officials without which any improvement of the system of the planned management will not be much of use. Those leading officials are profoundly mistaken, who think that the system will be working for them, that they will have fewer worries and problems.

[Falta] Well, no one has as yet invented such a mechanism in the world.

[Zak] If we are to leave aside parasitism of capital. What matters however is that they are rid of unnecessary problems, but at the same time to shift onto their shoulders responsibility in issues which they can tackle more readily and with greater direct knowledge than higher economic

management bodies. As you see, at stake is a complex of very important questions that will have to be tackled within the framework of the preparation of the 17th congress.

[Falta] This understandably places new and higher requirements on the level of work with cadres.

[Zak] Yes, cadres are the key to everything. This is a generally acknowledged truth. These questions were also discussed at the Central Committee's session. It was said clearly that the overwhelming majority of our economic cadres are highly qualified, talented, selfless and possess a high degree of consciousness. At the same time it was, however, stressed that the principle of the stability of cadres applies to those who are passengers. This also concerns those who have done good work in the past and who have given all their strength and talents for the good of society but who are no longer capable of getting things moving forward.

[Falta] One could say that new tasks demand more young blood...

[Zak, interrupting] ...and cadres prepared at the level of present-day needs, and to place, with greater determination, more women in management positions. Put simply, it is necessary to transfer those who are no longer good enough--but to do so with respect--with all the regard and with a truly high public recognition, to positions where their abilities can still be further utilized effectively. Of course, it is necessary to place no lesser emphasis on the moral profile of leading officials. They do not represent themselves, their enterprise, their institution but our socialist enterprise or institution, our working class or cooperative farmers, and principally one should not forget that ideological maturity, awareness does not manifest itself merely in how well one can speak but above all in one's approach to work, how well one deals with people and wins them over for the fulfillment of even the most demanding tasks.

CSO: 2400/499

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SLOVAK PARTY TO HOLD CONGRESS 13 MAY 1986

LD211352 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 21 Jun 85

[Text] The CPSL Central Committee held a session in Bratislava today. Present at the deliberations were also the members of the party Central Control and Auditing Commission, departmental heads of the party Central Committee, communist members of the Slovak government, and other guests.

The deliberations were opened by Jan Janik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee.

The Central Committee of the party then elected working commissions.

The report of the Presidium of the party Central Committee on the convening of the CPSL congress and the tasks of the party in Slovakia before the 17th CPCZ Congress was delivered by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee.

He submitted to the Central Committee the proposal to convene the CPSL congress on 13 May 1986.

Following the deliberations of the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committee the report underlined that the CPSL Central Committee, the regional and district committees and the primary organizations of the party would make every effort to mobilize communist and all working people for the fulfillment of the tasks of the 7th 5-Year Plan and a successful start of the 8th 5-Year Plan. The important point would be to ensure that in the course of the preparations for the congress the link between the party and the people would be further strengthened and the working people would more deeply understand the new tasks and approach their fulfillment with the conviction that to do so is necessary for the successful progress of society and is in the interest of every single team and citizen.

The results of the economic and social development of the Slovak SR showed that the main goal laid down at the 16th party congress and the tasks stemming from the resolution of the CPSL congress were being fulfilled. With the fulfillment of this year's tasks in Slovakia the republic's gross national income over the whole of the 7th 5-Year Plan will have grown by 11.3 percent, the social product by 13 percent, industrial production by 20.1 percent, construction production by 3.4 percent and agricultural production by 10.6 percent.

CSO: 2400/499

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHNOUPEK, CYPRUS' YEORYIOS EXCHANGE LUNCHEON REMARKS

LD171744 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 17 Jun 85

[Text] Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chnoupek gave a festive luncheon in honor of Cypriot Foreign Minister Yeoryios Iakovou today in Prague's Cernin Palace.

In his toast Minister Chnoupek recalled the ties between the peoples of the two countries during the hard and prolonged struggles for national and social freedom. He said: We highly praise the great authority justly earned by the active and peace-oriented foreign policy of Cyprus at all international forums. We permanently support the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and nonalignment of the Republic of Cyprus in line with the UN Charter and relevant UN resolutions. Likewise, Czechoslovakia actively supports the transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and cooperation. Bohuslav Chnoupek described the averting of the danger of a nuclear war, halting the feverish arms buildup and preserving world peace as the most important task of the current international situation, and said that the Geneva Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space weapons should make a particular contribution to this.

Yeoryios Iakovou said that his visit to Czechoslovakia was a new expression of the cordial friendship and good relations existing between the two countries. He said that bilateral cooperation had found its expression in a number of agreements and could be still further broadened and deepened.

He also praised Czechoslovakia's support for the just solution of the Cyprus question, which was another proof of the principled stance of the Czechoslovak Government and people regarding this question and an expression of friendship and commitment to the ideals and principles of freedom and justice.

CSO: 2400/499

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHNOUPEK ARRIVES IN NETHERLANDS; MEETS WITH COUNTERPART 24 JUN

LD242047 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2000 GMT 24 Jun 85

[Text] Netherlands--Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chnoupek was received today by Queen Beatrix at the start of his official visit to the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The Czechoslovak minister conveyed to her greetings from President of the Republic Gustav Husak, which were reciprocated. He also informed her of events in our country and about the main principles of Czechoslovak foreign policy.

Bohuslav Chnoupek opened talks today with Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans van den Broek, during which they assessed the level of bilateral relations, and declared themselves in favor of further developing them. They also exchanged views on topical international problems. The two countries' foreign affairs ministers confirmed both sides' will to continue efforts to avert military confrontation, and stressed the exceptional importance of renewing the process of detente.

Minister Chnoupek acquainted his Netherlands counterpart with the socialist countries' attitude to the question of nuclear weapons in Europe. He praised the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on deploying medium-range missiles on our continent, and recalled Soviet officials' statements that the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries are not trying to achieve military superiority over the NATO states, but simultaneously will not allow the balance to be disrupted either on earth or in space.

In reply, the Netherlands minister declared himself in favor of halting the arms race, but also reiterated NATO's well-known position.

At a gala dinner in honor of the Czechoslovak guest, Minister Van den Broek expressed his government's interest in improving Europe's political climate.

Bohuslav Chnoupek, in his speech, recalled the rich tradition of Czechoslovak-Netherlands relations, and stressed that we wish to develop mutual relations in line with these traditions in favor of understanding and all-round advantageous cooperation between states with different social systems.

CSO: 2400/499

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SLOVAK INDUSTRY MINISTRY HOLDS ASSESSMENT MEETING

LD211424 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1030 GMT 21 Jun 85

[Text] Leading officials from the branches of the Slovak Ministry of Industry are holding a working meeting on the realization of the CPCZ Central Committee letter concerning the deepening of the effectiveness of the struggle against the violation of the principles of socialist moral, discipline and legality, is now being held in Bratislava. Here is our staff reporter Ivan Mjartan with a more detailed report:

The main paper at the meeting was delivered by Michal Broska, first deputy minister of engineering of the Slovak SR. He critically assessed the state in the implementation of the conclusions of the letter of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and of the following set of measures of the federal government. True, the ministry fulfilled the tasks of the state plan for 1984--however, these positive results were negatively influenced by a number of negative phenomena concerning the violation of work and technological discipline, failure to observe supplier-customer contracts and the directives of organizations, production-economic units and the ministry. In 1983 the ministry prepared consolidation programs for more than 15 loss-making enterprises whose average annual loss exceeded Kcs 1 billion. Unfortunately, neither these programs, nor concrete and specifically addressed measures changed the situation. The production-economic unit of the timber and furniture enterprise in Zilina, the 1st May Works in Liptovsky Mikulas, the Bukoza enterprise at Vranov, and the Central Slovak Glass Works at Poltar belonged to the worst offenders.

Comrade Broska went on to give information about the shortcomings disclosed by checks on wages. This concerned above all the incorrect grading of workers, the payment of wages and the creation of wage supplements.

In 1984 the number of criminal cases in the branches of the ministry was 150 cases higher than in 1983. The better quality and consistency of internal-enterprise control made a substantial contribution to the discovery of these crimes. There were no criminal cases at the paper works at (Slovosovsk?), the Cellulose Works at Gemer, the West Slovak Printing Works and other enterprises.

CSO: 2400/499

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PREPARATIONS FOR METHODIUS JUBILEE UNDERWAY

AU241202 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Jun 85 p 2

[Text] Prague (CTK)--A joint commission of state and church representatives, which has been set up to arrange the festive gathering on Velehrad Hill on the occasion of the 1,100th anniversary of Methodius' death, convened on Friday [21 June] in Prague.

The conference was chaired by Milan Klusak, minister of culture in the Czech SR and chairman of the commission. Further members of the commission are: Miroslav Valek, minister of culture in the Slovak SR; Frantisek Chabicevsky, chairman of the South Moravian Regional National Committee; Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, archbishop of Prague; Jozef Feranec, bishop of Banska Bystrica; Bishop Josef Vrana, apostolic administrator of the Olomouc Archdiocese; Professor Frantisek Bymetal, vicar general of the Olomouc Archdiocese; and Frantusek Jelinek, secretary of the commission and director of the Secretariat for Church Matters in the Ministry of Culture of the Czech SR.

The commission assessed the draft program of the festive gathering and discussed the questions of its organizational preparations.

--Prague (CTK)--Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, state secretary of Vatican, will visit Czechoslovakia at the beginning of this July as the legate of Pope John Paul II dispatched for celebrations of the 1,100th anniversary of Methodius' death, which are to be held on 7 July on Velehrad Hill.

During the visit, which will take place at the CSSR Government's invitation, Cardinal Agostino Casaroli will be received by high CSSR representatives.

CSO: 2400/499

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FOOTBALL LEAGUE BANS ALCOHOL, FIRES TEAM MANAGER

AU211641 Paris AFP in English 1621 GMT 21 Jun 85

[Excerpts] Prague, 21 June (AFP)--Directors of Czechoslovak Football League champions Sparta Prague have announced stringent measures after supporters wrecked a train on the way to Banska Bystrica for the team's last match of the season.

The Sparta board have also fired the team manager, Vladimir Taborsky, for being "too friendly" with players.

Sale of alcohol will be banned at Sparta's ground and anyone appearing to be drunk will be refused admission. Announcing the measures, a club spokesman said that spectators waving club pennants or other favors would be thrown out.

The directors decided on emergency action after 30 Sparta supporters were arrested at Zilina and more were detained by police at three other stations on Wednesday's nine hour, 500 km journey from Prague to the home town of their opponents, in central Slovakia. [passage omitted]

Another group of supporters were arrested in Banska Bystrica for interfering with traffic by sleeping in the street. [passage omitted]

"Taborsky's links with the players depended too much on friendship and tolerance and he had lost the ability to criticize and control," Czechoslovakia's sports daily said Friday. [passage omitted]

CSO: 2020/147

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

CSSR MEDALS TO GDR OFFICERS--A festive gathering took place at the CSSR Embassy in Berlin at which 50 officers of the GDR People's Army were presented with CSSR state awards. Medals for Strengthening Friendship in Arms, first and second class, were awarded to the officers by the CSSR president on the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Warsaw Pact. On this occasion Pavel Sadovsky, CSSR ambassador to the GDR, praised the exemplary approach of the honored officers of the GDR People's Army to deepening the cooperation of the fraternal armies and increasing the socialist states' defense capability. Lieutenant General Barthel, chief of the GDR Air Force and Air Defense Command, spoke on behalf of the officers. He thanked the president and the CSSR Government for the high honor. [Text] [Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 2005 GMT 20 Jun 85 LD]

TALKS WITH SYRIAN TRADE UNION GROUP--The final talks between the delegation of the Central Council of Trade Unions led by Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the council, and the delegation of the General Federation of Labor Unions of Syria led by its chairman and member of the regional leadership of the party of Arab Revival (Ba'th) 'Izz al-din Nasir, were held in Prague today. Both sides expressed satisfaction with the development of mutual contacts to date and noted that the visit of the Syrian trade unionists would make a significant contribution to the further development of cooperation in the next period. The two sides resolutely condemned the continuation of the deployment of U.S. first-strike missiles in Western Europe and U.S. attempts to militarize space which endanger world peace. They described the strengthening of the action-capability of the trade union movement in the struggle for preserving peace and for disarmament as exceptionally important. They unequivocally supported the principled peace policy of the USSR and other socialist countries aiming at creating realistic guarantees for maintaining peace and security in the world. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1000 GMT 21 Jun 85 LD]

U.S. SECURITY QUESTIONED--Yesterday, in Washington, a 20-year-old man managed to make his way as far as the seventh floor of the State Department building where, in an office just a few meters away from that of Secretary George Shultz, he shot his mother, who worked in the building. He then committed suicide. The motive for the crime is not yet known. When the firing occurred, the U.S. secretary of state was making phone calls in one

of the building's offices. The question thus arises: How could an incident of this kind take place in a country which has criticized the Greek Government several times this week for neglecting security regulations at Athens Airport? Washington is trying--quite unjustifiably--to lay the blame for the hijacking of the American aircraft on Greece, yet at the same time the hard facts show clearly the problems the United States is having in attending to its own security. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 22 Jun 85 LD]

COLOTKA'S TALKS WITH HUNGARY'S MARJAI--Peter Colotka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak premier, had a meeting in Bratislava today with Jozsef Marjai, deputy premier of the Hungarian People's Republic. They informed one another about the current tasks of the national economies of the two countries, and assessed opportunities for stepping up mutual relations. The Hungarian official also took part in talks in Bratislava today with Federal Deputy Premier Rudolf Rohlicek on current matters of mutual economic, scientific and technical cooperation. [Text] [Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 22 Jun 85 LD]

TRADE MINISTER VISITS PROVINCE--During his 2-day tour of Pinar del Rio Province, the Slovak trade and tourism minister of Czechoslovakia, Jaroslav Zelko, asserted that his country's trade and tourism with Cuba will increase substantially in the next few years. Zelko announced that in the next few days, new commercial agreements will be signed between the Cuban and Czechoslovak foreign trade ministries. [Text] [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2300 GMT 24 Jun 85]

CSSR-UN ACTIVITIES--New York, 21 June (CTK Correspondent)--Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Sohuslav Chnoupek informed U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar of Czechoslovakia's activity in connection with the 40th anniversary of the United Nations. Minister Chnoupek's letter was delivered to the secretary-general by Ambassador Jaroslav Cesar, head of the permanent Czechoslovak mission to the U.N. It pointed out that since the birth of the United Nations, Czechoslovakia has been consistently working for the attainment of the goals of the U.N. Charter, formulated by the founding nations including Czechoslovakia. "We have joined the forces of peace and progress which are firmly resolved to do everything to eliminate the danger of war, to strengthen peace and international security, and to achieve disarmament. The year of peace should become the beginning of the end of wasteful uses of the enormous material and intellectual potential of mankind. It should give an impulse to broad international cooperation for the purpose of economic, social and general progress in the world", foreign Minister Chnoupek said in his letter. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1821 GMT 21 Jun 85]

DEPUTY MINISTER RECEIVED--Prague, 21 June (CTK)--Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek discussed possibilities of further all-round development of Czechoslovak-Kampuchean relations and key international topics with visiting First Deputy Minister of [as received] the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Kong Korum, here today. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1510 GMT 21 Jun 85]

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

STRICT INTERPRETATION OF AIR SOVEREIGNTY LAWS DEFENDED

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 38 No 9, Sep 84 pp 350-352

[Article by Dr Reinhard Mueller, lecturer, Section for Political Science and Jurisprudence, Martin-Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg: "The Right of States to Defend Air Sovereignty"]

[Text] Aviation's scientific-technical dynamism and the steadily increasing internationalization of air traffic require states in this field also to pursue close cooperation in accordance with the basic principles of international law. At the same time, the principles of the sovereign equality of states, their territorial integrity and the inviolability of national borders must needs remain in the foreground.

At the beginning of this century, when international standards for the regulation of aviation began to evolve (1), disputes initially arose with regard to the question whether the legal status of air space was to be governed by the principle of national sovereignty or that of the freedom of air traffic (2). This dispute was settled by the Paris Convention on the Regulation of Aviation of 13 October 1919 (3). Article 1 of that agreement confirmed the total and exclusive sovereignty of states in the air space above their territories and thus upheld the principle of national sovereignty. The same principle was restated in the Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation of 7 December 1944 (Article 1) as the first universal international regulation in the field of aviation (4).

The principle of air sovereignty derives directly from national sovereignty which extends to the territory of a state (territorial sovereignty) as well as to the air space above this territory (air sovereignty). Of course it took the arrival of aviation to lead to the consideration that the exercise of supreme power necessarily includes the air space above the sovereign territory. Even before World War I, leading imperialist powers based their legislation and practice on the assumption that access to their air space required their assent.

The derivation of the principle of air sovereignty from that of national sovereignty also gives rise to the substantial definition of air sovereignty: Valid in the air space of each state is its national legal order. Accordingly the Law on the GDR National Border - Border Law - of 25 March 1982 (GBI I No

11 p 197) and the Law on Aviation - Aviation Law - of 27 October 1983 (GB1 I No 29 p 277) states that flights into the sovereign territory of the GDR as well as overflights of the national border generally require official permission. Insofar as measures for the defense of the air space are required, the criterion of their legitimacy is decided exclusively by the basic principles of international law or special international treaties among states.

We know from experience that aircraft of one state quite frequently breach the air sovereignty of another state.

Measures Against Air Space Violations by Civilian Aircraft

In cases of unauthorized overflights in international civil aviation, it is often argued that the aircraft had been in an emergency situation (air emergency).

If the ground state acknowledges the emergency situation of the aircraft, it grants permission to the aircraft to enter and land. Once this has happened, the ground state is obligated as per Article 25 of the 1944 Chicago Convention to initiate measures to assist the aircraft in distress in its sovereign territory. It must, therefore, "as far as possible help" the aircraft concerned "and, with the supervision of its own agencies, permit the owners or the agencies of the state where the aircraft is registered to take any helpful steps required in the circumstances."

However, it has happened that the presence of an "emergency" is claimed by violators of air space even if entry evidently or most probably was deliberate and illegal. It is therefore understandable that the respective ground state initially assumes a violation of air space upon unauthorized entry, unless the emergency is quite unmistakable.

According to general international practice, an emergency is deemed to have arisen when the commander of the aircraft credibly claims that the fuel reserves on board are depleted, and the aircraft is about to crash. It has not yet been clearly established, though, whether a hijacked aircraft is deemed to be in an "emergency situation," and the country requested to give permission to land is in fact duty bound to receive it. Several countries have indeed frequently refused permission to land in such circumstances (5).

In justification of unauthorized entry in a foreign territory it is frequently asserted that the aircraft had inadvertently strayed from the prescribed route. This may be due to navigational difficulties as a consequence of poor weather conditions or--and this is obviously equivalent to an emergency--to the failure of the navigational equipment.

Regardless whether the commander of an aircraft not authorized for entry claims the presence of an emergency or inadvertent straying, he must always strictly observe all instructions by the organs of the state he is overflying, because that state is legitimately defending its territorial sovereignty (6). According to GDR law, air traffic control alone decides the presence of an air emergency situation and, in accordance with this decision, grants permission

to enter (Article 16 Paragraph 3, Border Law); any unauthorized entry is initially deemed a border violation (Article 17 Letter f, Border Law).

Some non-socialist specialists in international law doubt that coercive measures are proper in the case of border violations by scheduled or private aircraft, because such aircraft do not represent "any threat to the military security of the country." (7) This objection is not valid; the ground state does not initially have any other way of establishing the reason for the illegal entry than to examine the aircraft after landing. Nor is it possible to describe as "harmless" (8) the failure of the illegally entering aircraft to comply with the ground state's order to land, because--first--upon inadvertent entry there is absolutely no reason to resist the order to land and because--second--the documented practice of the United States and its allies of using civil aircraft and others for espionage (9) is anything but harmless. Even bourgeois international lawyers advocate the use of force toward civil aircraft engaged in espionage (10).

In the opinion of the majority of countries, even UN General Assembly Resolution 927 (X) of 14 December 1955 on the issue of the security of commercial aircraft flying close to international borders or inadvertently overflying them is not designed to regiment defensive measures by the states affected; otherwise it would open wide the doors to future abuse (11).

Besides, the defensive measures of the ground states are in compliance with international law, in particular Article 4 of the 1944 Chicago Convention, according to which international civil aviation must not be used for purposes incompatible with the objectives of the convention. Evidently this includes misuse for the purposes of espionage. Moreover, Article 9 of the Chicago Convention forbids overflights of prohibited areas and concedes to the ground state the power to issue appropriate rules for the respective contraventions.

It is clear that the custom by the United States and its allies of misusing civil aircraft for military reconnaissance (12) obstructs the smooth operation of international aviation in general.

Measures Against Violations of Air Space by State and Military Aircraft

Individual state permission (14) for entry in foreign air space is required for state and military aircraft. The mere fact of the use of the aircraft to carry out tasks involving sovereign rights (13) decides their status, regardless whether the state or a private person own or operate the aircraft. The question therefore arises in how far airlines which evidently operate on behalf of military services may claim the privileges granted by international civil aviation law.

Since the 1919 Paris Air Traffic Convention was superseded by the 1944 Chicago Convention, a multilateral contractual basis has been lacking for the treatment of state aircraft entering legitimately, that is with official permission. The Chicago Convention did not include the rule of the 1919 convention by which foreign military aircraft cleared for entry enjoyed the same privileges as granted foreign navy vessels in territorial waters, while the respective privileges do not apply to aircraft entering without

authorization. Still, we should follow O. Riese's interpretation. He assumes an internationally recognized principle which prescribes the observance of the immunity of legitimately entering state and military aircraft (15).

Other than reconnaissance flights, shows of strength and/or deliberate border demonstrations represent violations of air space below the threshold of armed attacks. They were and are being carried out by imperialist states mainly in those regions where tensions already prevail, or where it is felt necessary to secure spheres of influence. Well known examples are the repeated U.S. violations of the air space above Cuba, the Korean Democratic People's Republic and, latterly, Lebanon. In the majority of these provocative actions, the states affected requested the offender to land or, following an unsuccessful request of that nature, compelled the aircraft to land and initiated the appropriate investigations--in conformity with international law (16). Such use of force against violators of air space unwilling to land is generally acknowledged to be legitimate.

In addition to shows of strength in crisis regions, reconnaissance flights by military and state aircraft with the aim of collecting information above foreign territory are the most frequent kind of violations of air sovereignty. Due to the resulting tensions between the parties involved in the conflict, some such cases caused the UN Security Council to deal with this problem, for example the U.S. spy flights above USSR territory in 1960 (17).

The threat to peace proven to be involved in aerial espionage especially derives from the exceptional danger arising from it and the extent of the violation of the ground state's territorial integrity. Espionage has therefore been banned not only in international civil aviation. Based on the principles of international law (such as the ban on the use or the threat of the use of force as well as the prohibition on intervention as per Article 2 Nos 4 and 7 of the UN Charter), state and military flights are also barred from espionage (18). This is confirmed even by non-socialist international law experts. E. Menzel/K. Ipsen, for instance, infer the illegality of aerial espionage from the principle of good neighborliness and the ban on intervention, because espionage and reconnaissance flights grossly violate national air sovereignty, even "if carried out at extreme heights, and the ground state is not able to prevent them" (19). In some circumstances--especially if the extent and frequency of this espionage is exceptional--the authors consider this type of violation to amount to an "act of aggression," involving measures exceeding those taken against the intrusive aircraft.

Establishment of Aerial Defense Identification Zones--Contravention of International Law

My initial statement that the basic principles of international law represent the criterion for the legitimacy of measures for the defense of the air space, also applies to the spatial dimension of these measures: They must be restricted to the respective national territory.

Nevertheless, some capitalist states used the argument of the allegedly special need for protection of their air space and established so-called air defense identification zones (ADIZ). In 1950, the U.S. Federal Aviation

Administration set up such zones, Canada followed suit in 1951. In 1956, France enacted a law on the establishment of an air defense zone in front of the Algerian coast with the objective of keeping away foreign aircraft likely to back the Algerian national liberation movement. Later the Philippines, Iceland, Italy, Japan, South Korea and Taiwan also instituted such zones (20).

Beginning at the national border in the air space and reaching to a various extent into the air space above the open sea, these states order all domestic and foreign aircraft approaching the territory of the respective country or overflying its exclusion area to give their identification signals at a predetermined distance from the coast and inform the ground stations of their position and flight plan. Within the controlled air space, they may not diverge from the flight plan nor the instructions of the national check points. However, the scope of the legislative provisions regarding these zones (300-700 sea miles) and the envisaged response of the ground state in the case of the violation of these zones by foreign aircraft vary quite substantially.

The establishment of such exclusion zones in the air space above the open sea directly conflicts with Article 2 of the Convention on the Open Sea of 29 April 1958 (21), according to which no state may legitimately claim to subject any part of the open sea to its sovereign power, and which generally stipulates the freedom of overflight of the open sea. These principles were also included in Article 58 of the new Convention on the Law of the Seas of 10 December 1982, adopted by the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Seas. The same legal situation arises from the provisions on sovereignty, national territory and the open sea in Articles 1, 2 and 12 of the 1944 Chicago Convention.

The air defense identification zones contravene the principle of the sovereign equality of states in the meaning of Article 2 No 1 of the UN Charter. This conclusion arises from two reasons: On the one hand, the need for security of geographically disadvantaged and inland countries may not be held to be less than that of coastal countries; on the other, the international law in effect eases the inequality of inland countries with regard to the use of the sea for the purpose of shipping by granting them a legitimate claim to transit to the coast (22). The provision of a similar equalization, though, is precluded with regard to the air defense identification zones.

Despite this clear legal situation, the champions of the so-called air defense identification zones attempt to prove their legitimacy according to valid international law (23). One interpretation (the one oriented most closely to current law) assumes that, as per Appendix 11 of the 1944 Chicago Convention, states maintaining air security control services above the open sea are permitted to assimilate these legal provisions to internal state standards (24). However, in my opinion it is going too far to conclude therefrom the right to the establishment of exclusion zones outside the air sovereignty territory: Appendix 11 does not permit the expansion of the scope of application of national security regulations to particular sections of the air space above the open sea. It merely grants some powers (25) for the purpose of safeguarding international civil aviation above these territories. Any farther-reaching claim to "rights" conflicts with international law.

Though aviation has long ceased to represent the sole use of air space (26), its illegitimate operation continues to be one of the greatest threats to the legally protected interests of the countries affected. The resulting special need to defend the air space is observed by each state by its own sovereign decision and in consideration of the basic principles of international law. The observance of basic international principles includes the restriction of any defensive measure to the country's own territory.

FOOTNOTES

1. The very first legal standard governing the air was enacted exactly 200 years ago: Immediately after the brothers' Montgolfier invention of the hot air balloon in 1783 and the first (initially unmanned) ascent of a balloon, a decree was issued in France on 23 April 1794, introducing the duty to obtain a licence for balloon flights (see A. Meyer, "Anniversary in the Field of the Law of the Air," ZEITSCHRIFT FUER LUFT- UND WELTRAUMRECHT, Cologne 1977, p 5).
2. For details see "Luftrecht. Grundriss" [Law of the Air. Outline], Berlin 1979m pp 53 ff.
3. See "Voelkerbundsvertragssammlung" [Collection of League of Nations Treaties], Vol 11, pp 173 ff.
4. German text in "Die Organisation der Vereinten Nationen, Dokumente, Teil III" [The Organization of the United Nations, Documents, Part III] Berlin 1962, pp 217 ff. As on 31 December 1983, 150 states are members of this convention.
5. See E. Menzel/K. Ipsen, "Voelkerrecht" [International Law], Munich 1979, pp 423 ff.
6. See J.F. Bentzien, "Der Unerlaubte Einflug von Luftfahrzeugen in Fremdes Staatsgebiet in Friedenszeiten und Seine Rechtsfolgen" [The Unlicensed Entry of Aircraft in Foreign National Territory in Peacetime and the Legal Consequences], West Berlin 1982, p 175.
7. For example K. Hailbronner, "Der Schutz der Luftgrenzen im Frieden" [The Defense of Air Frontiers in Peacetime], Cologne/Bonn 1972, pp 31 f.
8. For example the interpretation by O. Lissitzyn, "The Treatment of Aerial Intruders in Recent Practice and International Law," AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 1983, pp 587 ff.
9. As for the habit of Western secret services to use civilian airlines for espionage, see the report by A. Guérin, reprinted from the French press, in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 13 September 1983, p 2.
10. For example J.F. Bentzien, as before, p 181.

11. For example the Saudi Arabian delegate, UN Doc. A/L 3/SR 682 f.
12. See, for example, the press conference with Marshal Ogartsov, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 10/11 September 1983, pp 3 f.
13. See A. Meyer, "On the Term 'Military Aircraft'." ZEITSCHRIFT FUER LUFT-UND WELTRAUMRECHT 1983, pp 143 f.
14. As far as the GDR is concerned, this arises from Article 16 Paragraph 5 of the Border Law and Article 1 of the Order on the Overflight of the GDR National Border by Civilian Aircraft of Other Countries of 27 October 1983 (GBI I No 29 p 289).
15. See O. Riese, "Luftrecht" [Law of the Air], Stuttgart 1949, p 196. However, we must doubt Riese's claim that the omission of the provision of Article 32 of the 1919 Paris Convention had also abolished the "defenselessness" of intruding state and military aircraft, because warships in distress are also granted treatment akin to immunity. As early as the 26 July 1913 Agreement on the Regulation of Aviation (RGI p 601), concluded by an exchange of notes between Germany and France, it had been established that, after sending an agreed emergency signal, German military aircraft in distress might land on French territory but that the French authorities held all rights of investigation. After 1919, the opinion quickly gained ground that intruding military aircraft were not to be granted a legal status comparable to that of warships in distress: Instead they are subject to the full jurisdiction of the country where they have landed (see also O. Lissitzyn, as before, p 565).
16. See the collection of case histories by J.F. Bentzien, as before, pp 112 ff.
17. See H. Rose, "U.S.A. Provocative Flights Contravene International Law," DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK 1960, No 7, pp 767 ff.
18. See also H. Rose, as before. pp 768 f.
19. E. Menzel/K. Ipsen, as before, p 423.
20. See the summary provided by R. Mueller, "Air Space and the International Regulation of Its Use," dissertation, Halle 1981, pp 185ff.
21. "Voelkerrecht, Dokumente" [International Law, Documentation], Part 2, Berlin 1980, pp 458 ff.
22. See "Voelkerrecht, Lehrbuch" [International Law, Textbook], Part 1, Berlin 1981, p 276.
23. See, among others, J.N. Denaro, "States' Jurisdiction in Aerospace under International Law," JOURNAL OF AIR LAW AND COMMERCE 1970, pp 711 f.

24. For example J.T. Murchison, "The Contiguous Air Space Zone,"
INTERNATIONAL LAW, Ottawa 1957, pp 21 ff.
25. See H. Hailbronner, as before, pp 79 f.
26. On nonaviation use, see R. Mueller, as above, pp 9ff and 2212 ff.

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CSO: 2300/429

POLAND

HIJACKING TERMED 'BITTER LESSON' AFTER U.S. 'AGGRESSION'

AU271337 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 25 Jun 85 p 5

[Article by Franciszek Nietz: "Various Dimensions of a Drama"]

[Text] A powerless president of a great power, an ambitious leader of the Lebanese "Amal" group who is playing a game with his daring political party, fanatical hijackers bent on everything, and weakened American hostages kept in hiding and awaiting the finalization of an exchange deal and the release of 700 Shi'ites by Israel--this is a still incomplete but already sufficiently complex mosaic of the drama taking place in Beirut.

This political deed, worthy of condemnation like every act of political terror, has shown the world how dangerous and explosive Lebanon and the entire Middle East powder keg remain. For the United States, this bitter lesson has another aspect. It has shown that sooner or later there comes a time to pay the bill for supporting the aggressive and rapacious policy of Israel, and for an unwillingness to settle the inflated problems of this region comprehensively and justly. It is tragic that the price of these calculations is meant to be the lives of several dozen innocent people. Nevertheless, Washington and Israel have jointly created in recent years and recent months a climate conducive to the growing wave of violence in Lebanon. As one agency commentator has said maybe somewhat cynically but nevertheless appropriately, the only thing that comes as a surprise is that the dramatic kidnapping of an American airline's passengers has occurred so late.

The determination of the Shi'ite hijackers, who identify themselves with Moslem religious extremism, hides years of growing frustration and hatred vis-a-vis Israel and the United States, shared by practically the entire Shi'ite community of Lebanon. No one has been the victim of almost 3 years of Israeli terror, occupation, and persecution as much as the Shi'ite population of southern Lebanon. The Shi'ites have been second and third class citizens in Christian-ruled Lebanon and have not performed any role in the American scenario for politically stabilizing this country. It is American weapons that have destroyed their humble dwellings in the suburbs of Beirut, and U.S. Army instructors who have cooperated with the hated army of al-Jummayyil, trying to preserve the balance of forces imposed several dozen years ago and divergent with the demographic and sociopolitical situation in Lebanon.

In order to understand the tragic lot of the 40 hostages, it is also necessary to gain an insight into the drama of those who no longer wish to be debased and persecuted, wish to find their proper place in the political arena of a country that has been torn by civil war for 10 years, and are ready to answer the Israeli and American terror with counterterror. Neither "Amal", led by Nabih Birri, nor any more radical offshoots of this movement appeared overnight.

The Shi'ite anger has been growing over the space of several years at least, though at first it was unnoticed and underplayed. Only a spectacular hijacking has suddenly focused the world's attention on this rapidly growing political and socioreligious force in Lebanon; and it is no coincidence that the chief negotiator between the hijackers and the United States is Nabih Birri, the leader of the "Amal" Shi'ite group.

Ever since he assumed leadership of "Amal" in 1980, this relatively young politician as Lebanese tradition goes has not made any secret of his ambition to play an increasing role in the political life of Lebanon. Intelligent and educated, Birri was probably the first to realize the important role which the Shi'ite community might play in internal Lebanese and Middle East relations. Over the past few years he has been steadily strengthening the ranks of his organization and his own position inside it. He has also tried to maintain the moderate line followed by his group, turning it into the chief spokesman of the interests of the entire community.

Although until now he has rejected the use of terror as a form of political pressure, Birri has been very much aware of the significance of the action undertaken by the Hezbollah--representatives of a radical wing of Shi'ites under the influence of the Islamic revolution in Iran. He has understood that this action is drawing far-reaching consequences and may mean an upheaval in the Middle East relations so far. Such expectations may seem exaggerated, but if one examines the possible ways of solving the drama of the American hostages, one sees that both the United States and Israel may be forced to accept the conditions imposed on them, and make certain changes to their Middle East strategy, later on.

This affair is bound to find reflection in the Arab world and in the attitudes of some of these countries toward the Lebanese question. It places Shi'ite-Palestinian relations in Lebanon at a new level, especially since the bloody settlement with the Palestinian movement in Beirut. It is also worth realizing that the Lebanese president and his government have been almost absent during the dozen-plus days of bargaining over the fate of the American hostages and the Shi'ites imprisoned by Israel. Birri is negotiating with Washington not as a minister in this government, but as spokesman of the hijackers and chief of "Amal".

The Reagan Administration should draw conclusions from this fact. The hopes placed in al-Jummayyil's pro-American policy have turned out false, and not for the first time. Banking on the Christian minority in Lebanon at the cost [cost] of neglecting the rights and interests of the Moslem community which today comprises almost 60 percent of this country's population is, at the same time, a policy of neglect of the rights of the Shi'ites. The

current wave of terrorism is a form of protest against this policy and illustrates the anti-Americanism that has been growing in Lebanon and the Middle East for 2-3 years.

Ronald Reagan's helplessness in the face of activity by a handful of Shi'ite terrorists expresses the failure of American strategy in Lebanon and shows the policy of strength and the attempts to impose "Pax Americana" on the countries in this region as a fiasco. The hijackers must have realized this when they decided to stage the spectacular action, probably not without the knowledge of Birri and with his quiet consent, as well as that of other politicians. And in this sense it is not only the fate of the American hostages that is at stake, but also the future of American Middle East policy and relations between Tel Aviv and Washington. Neither is it any coincidence that some commentators are pointing out that terrorism appears as a recognized form of struggle in the Middle East every time legal political forms of struggle fail.

The clash between Israeli force and the arousal of the Lebanese Shi'ites has occurred during a period of quite significant internal changes in the Arab world. I have in mind the attempts to settle the Palestinian question and steadily increase Syria's involvement in Lebanon, as well as Tel Aviv's courtship with Cairo. Each of these elements may have, though of course, need not have, influenced "Amal's" decision as to the time and method of the spectacular action. If we look at the TWA hijacking through the prism of the Shi'ites victorious struggle against the Israeli occupiers in southern Lebanon and of the relentless struggle to subjugate the Palestinian movement in this country, then the hijacking appears as a further logical part of an earlier planned and consistently implemented whole.

This is not the final part. Regardless of one's moral assessment of this act, we must realize that we may have entered a new and more dangerous phase of Middle-East contests, one in which terror may once again become a broadly accepted and increasingly nasty form of struggle for the political and national rights of Arabs. Today, some offshoots of the Shi'ite movement with close ties to the Guardians of the Iranian revolution are ready for anything, which could be illustrated by the suicidal bombings of American and Israeli premises in Lebanon by the "Hezbollahs." Today, persecutions and grudges, translated into struggle and violence, are creating in Lebanon a new political quality which may determine this country's future and affect the fate of the Middle East.

CSO: 2600/837

POLAND

COMMENTS ON TWA HIJACKING

'Political Repercussions' Noted

LD210951 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 21 Jun 85

[Commentary by Krzysztof Wojna]

[Text] The drama in Beirut already has had political repercussions. Relations between Athens and Washington have deteriorated. Ronald Reagan's appeals for boycotting Greece, where the plane was hijacked, have begun to have an effect. The number of cancelled bookings is growing. Anxiety that the Washington attitude will have very unfavorable influence on this year's tourist season is being voiced in Athens. Over half a million tourists were expected from the United States.

One can also talk about tension in Israeli-American relations. Israeli politicians do not hide their astonishment that Washington is doing nothing, as if waiting for someone else to make a decision eventually. Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin said in a television interview: This is an American plane, and the hostages are also the Americans. If the United States expects something from Israel that would lead to a release, it should say so. Israel holds 800 Shi'ites whose release is demanded by the hijackers. Reagan's irresolution reminds one of the hostage drama in Teheran 5 years ago. Then Jimmy Carter was supposed to be irresolute, and this was used by Ronald Reagan in the race to the White House. Today, he has found himself in a very similar situation.

Passengers Appeal Against Force

LD212101 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 21 Jun 85

[No video available]

[Text] The Beirut Airport tragedy continues. The passengers of the hijacked plane, at a press conference organized by the hijackers, issued an appeal to the Israeli authorities to free the Lebanese imprisoned there. In a declaration read by the hostages, they also called on President Reagan not to use force: Fear was expressed that such an action would result in human victims. Despite the fact that 8 days have already passed since the hijacking, the U.S. Government refuses to negotiate with the hijackers.

Hijack Tangents

LD212019 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 21 Jun 85

[Text] News agencies have noted quite a few new elements today in what has been one of the main subjects of their interest for a week now, the hijacking of the American airplane.

As is well known, the Shi'ite hijackers are demanding in exchange for the release of the hostages the freeing of 700 Arab prisoners held in Israel. Tel Aviv has said that it will continue to free the Arabs if security considerations in South Lebanon permit this. At the same time it has been stipulated that this should not be linked with the demands of the hijackers.

Meanwhile, at Beirut Airport, where the hijacked plane is still standing, an assembly of about 1,200 persons took place. Sitting near the plane they shouted out anti-American slogans. One of those guarding the Boeing spoke to the crowd.

And the following news on this subject from the United States: The BOSTON GLOBE has reported that the hijackers boarded the plane in Athens while unarmed. Their weapons were waiting for them in the toilets. It transpires from polls carried out in the United States that fewer persons polled are now demanding that a military operation be staged to free the hostages. Now only one person in three wants this kind of action to be taken. A few days ago 43 percent of those polled supported the possibility of an armed attack.

Javier Perez de Cuellar, UN secretary general, has stated that one should not link the problem of the American hostages in Beirut with the question of the Shi'ite prisoners in Israel. In the view of the UN secretary general, these matters ought to be resolved using other methods because they are of a different nature.

CSO: 2600/836

POLAND

URBAN 10 JUNE PRESS CONFERENCE 'TRANSCRIPT'

AU271155 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Jun 85 p 4

["Transcript" of press conference given for foreign journalists by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 10 June]

[Excerpts] Urban: The political and propaganda campaign against Poland being waged by some Western countries has intensified recently. Government elements in the United States, and also in France, are taking part in it with a vengeance. Once again our country is being threatened in Washington. The main pretext for this campaign are the sentences handed down to Frasyniuk, Lis, Michnik by the Gdansk court. However, other events currently taking place in Poland are being selected for the needs of this campaign. This selection itself is tendentious, as well as the interpretation of facts. Individual court sentences, cases of arrest, and also drafts of laws are quoted, all of which are completely different from each other, and bear totally different purposes.

Gathering, combining, and interpreting facts this way, it is being dishonestly said that purely repressive and harsh trends are shaping themselves in Poland right now. At the same time, all the events and trends that illustrate the progressing democratization in our country are being glossed over. Such assessments, based on distortions and sometimes lies, are propagated among Polish citizens by subversive Polish-language radio stations. Their entire present program is adapted to spreading this idea.

In connection with this, I wish to state firmly that statements whereby a new political trend based on a sharpened course has emerged in Poland are unjustified and untrue. Our policy is not undergoing any change; it is stable. It is a policy of accord, reforms, and struggle. Neither have there been any changes in the ways of implementing this policy. Those political forces and propaganda centers in the West that are suggesting that a change of course is being made in Poland are doing so in order to justify the continuation of their hostile policies toward Poland. They are still dishonestly seeking Polish pretexts in order to exacerbate the international situation. Poland and our domestic problems are being treated in an instrumental way for this.

Perhaps the new anti-Polish political and propaganda offensive has also been caused by the fact that the U.S. Government is not succeeding in building anti-Polish solidarity among its own allies. Many Western countries are striving to improve their relations with Poland, guided by their own interests and by the intention to harmonize European relations. In order to arouse a new anti-Polish psychosis, forces hostile to peaceful coexistence are continuing their policy of meddling in internal Polish affairs, which includes falsely presenting the background and legal purpose of the Gdansk trial. The U.S. State Department spokesman even voiced threats. He says that three noble warriors for supreme values--Michnik, Lis, and Frasnyniuk--have been tried and sentenced for performing and voicing their convictions. This is completely untrue. They have been sentenced for jointly leading an illegal union, whose purpose was to create public unrest, including a wild, illegal general strike. This has been proved.

During the Gdansk trial, the three men behaved in a provocative and offensive manner toward the court. Their only intention was to make political speeches which had nothing to do with the trial and which were conveyed to the West and disseminated. By offending the court, they displayed open anarchism and a neglect of their own state and its laws. Similar conduct was displayed by witness Lech W., who came to court wearing inappropriate clothes with provocative phrases, displayed irony before the court, and answered questions with the English "yes." Maybe it is not without political reason that Lech W. regards America as his true homeland, but even so English is not his mother tongue. The attitude of defendants facing a court in accordance with the rules of Polish jurisdiction affects their sentences.

It is therefore great hypocrisy on the part of the U.S. and French authorities, as well as on the part of a considerable section of the Western press, that they are voicing accusations against Poland just because we are protecting the country against illegal public unrest by legal means. Those authorities are breaking up even legal demonstrations in a much more ruthless manner. At the same time, the defense of justified workers' interests is being counteracted in the West, whereas the activity of Lis, Frasnyniuk, and Michnik is directed against these interests. The West is therefore applying double moral standards when assessing events in Poland.

The Polish authorities will guarantee social calm with those legal measures that are necessary. We use these measures sparingly and with restraint. Our duty is to make the illegal activity of professional provocators of unrest impossible. They are using every situation and pretext in the struggle against the socialist state, which is the supreme asset of the entire people. The authorities of Poland will shelter the lives of Poles against dangerous disturbances, and will guarantee state security whether the power-givers and friends of these political trouble-makers like it or not.

Kara Ivanov, ITECHESTVEN FRONT of Bulgaria: Mr Minister, what is your view of President Reagan's 14 June interview for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, a considerable part of which concerns Poland?

Urban: I do not have the full text of President Reagan's interview, therefore it is difficult for me to speak broadly on this subject. From that part of the interview concerning Poland which the Western press has carried, I gain the impression that this interview was aimed at rendering support for the anti-Polish propaganda activity of the official American station which Free Europe is. It is difficult to perceive any new features in American policy toward Poland.

However, one inaccuracy deserves mentioning. President Reagan said that the U.S. Government, implementing a policy of support for the Polish people, and in accordance with wise principles, has lifted the American sanctions introduced following martial law, and that this policy of support will continue to be implemented. To be honest, I must say that all the most harmful sanctions for Poland and the Polish people are still in force. The most favored nation clause concerning trade with the United States has still not been restored, there is still a ban on the issue of credits and credit guarantees, and purchases of modern technology which would modernize our industry are still restricted. The propaganda aggression against our country is still on.

As we know, all this is really making a return to normal relations between Poland and the United States difficult. As is also generally known, the sanctions policy has caused and is still causing Poland and Polish society economic losses. We would like to hope that the U.S. Administration will relinquish its unrealistic policy toward Poland, which goes against the interests of both countries. The sooner this happens, the better for both states and peoples, as well as for East-West relations.

However, our view of Radio Free Europe itself is generally known, and differs markedly from the view expressed by President Reagan. I do not think I need expound on this issue.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: Minister Olszowski said in Vienna that Poland will sign an agreement with the Paris Club on or about 30 June. Could you confirm?

Urban: Yes. We are interested in signing the agreement, but at the same time this involves assurances of normal financial-credit relations with Poland, relations that would permit the Polish economy a suitable import potential, and consequently an export potential as well. In any case, our creditors are aware of this. We intend to sign the agreement with the proviso that its performance is only possible when the credits system is functioning normally. Our stance on this matter is always the same.

Radio Polonia: Could you inform us of the contents of the letter sent to the EEC representative on behalf of CEMA by Stanislaw Matosek, PPR ambassador in Brussels?

Urban: I cannot quote the contents of the letter because it was not public. In any case, the essence of it is that the CEMA authorities have recognized it as useful to hold talks between CEMA and the EEC in the nearest future. Talks were proposed on the subject of an eventual joint declaration which foresees relations between both organizations. This is the essence of this letter.

Robert Strybel, POLONIAN Press: Mr Minister, POLITYKA recently carried an opinion poll of young people about their confidence in various institutions. The Church came out on top with 85 points, followed by the Army with 70 points, but other institutions emerged very weakly, for example the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, the unions, and the Sejm. The government and party were not contained in the poll at all, so I imagine they came out even worse. Do you regard these results as credible and could you comment? Thank you.

Urban: I am very sorry, but I have already said many times to my own embarrassment that I have not read the text of this poll. I seldom have the time to read POLITYKA, much against my will. Therefore I can neither confirm nor deny the data presented by that paper. I can only express my general confidence in what POLITYKA prints. Any by the way I can assure you that confidence in the government is quite high; that after the Army and Sejm, the government has the highest social confidence; and that this confidence is generally growing, though there are fluctuations. I am constantly monitoring the government's standing in social opinion carefully. The Church enjoys very high confidence, but I know of polls in which it was slightly above 60 percent.

CSO: 2600/837

POLAND

SEJM CANDIDATE REQUIREMENTS DESCRIBED

AU241216 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Jun 85 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, PZPR Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, by Anna Pawlowska: "From Today to 13th October and Beyond"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Pawlowska] The rules, adopted at the 20th plenum, for seeking out party candidates for Sejm deputies refers in its first paragraph to the PZPR statute worked out at the ninth congress. I do not think this is purely for the sake of formality.

[Mokrzyaszczak] Of course not. The fact that the statute (in point 30) obliges the Central Committee to determine "a specific method of selecting candidates for deputies and people's councillors" reflects the importance of the party's responsibility for the functioning of democratic representative bodies. Since the congress, the party has been interpreting this obligation, as evidenced during the people's council elections, as a duty to ensure the broadest possible involvement by the entire party in the issuance of recommendations for these posts.

[Pawlowska] At the same time, the rules permit and even encourage party bodies also to recommend nonparty candidates.

[Mokrzyaszczak] Naturally. After all, nonparty people include thousands who, with their personal and social characteristics and their prestige among society, fulfill all the conditions we require of our candidates. Exemplary nonparty workers, energetic young people, and socially active people who work out of passion and conviction should be the recipients of our recommendations. And I am certain that is how it will be.

[Pawlowska] The rules say that candidates for deputies should be comrades who "have pledged that they will properly perform their mandate for the good of all society in accordance with the political principles of socialist Poland." This is a very high requirement. Are there no fears that some potential candidates, modest people who have only been active on a factory or city scale so far, may bend under its weight and conclude that they will be unable to meet it?

[Mokrzyszczak] One can always nurture such a fear, especially because modesty is a quality possessed by valuable people, and excessive confidence by people who are the opposite. Nevertheless, the Central Committee has defined these requirements further. We are not looking for statesmen. What we do want, however, is for our candidates to have enough life, political, and social experience, enough knowledge; and the necessary personal attitudes to be able to assess phenomena with sensitivity and boldness, but at the same time soberly and accurately. I need not add that these must be ethically and professionally impeccable people. There is really no shortage of such comrades in our ranks.

[Pawlowska] From all we have said, it stems that the party is starting the election campaign already, and will complete it on 13th October.

[Mokrzyszczak] As far as the election campaign is concerned, yes. But a matter will remain that is no less important. For every elected deputy should constantly feel the moral support emanating from his primary party organization, the party cell that recommended him, the entire party, and all party members. An inseparable part of this support is control. We will improve the activity of the PZPR Deputies Club in such a way that it may effectively and intelligently combine deputies initiative with party duty and that every one of our deputies, regarding himself as the mandate-bearer for all his voters, may also represent for them the party's thought and line.

CSO: 2600/835

POLAND

OLSZOWSKI'S ITALIAN VISIT REPORTED

LD221843 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Jun 85

[Dispatch from Rome by Slawomir Szof]

[Text] Today, the third day of his official visit, Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski went to the Vatican for a meeting with Pope John Paul II. The talks in the pope's private library lasted over 40 minutes and concerned both the international situation and relations between the Holy See and our country, as well as relations between the state and the church in Poland. Minister Olszowski conveyed to the pope sincere greetings from Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski and Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski. In turn, the pope requested that his best wishes be conveyed to Wojciech Jaruzelski and Henryk Jablonski, and to the entire Polish people.

The Polish foreign minister then met with Vatican Secretary of State Agostino Casaroli. Also taking part in the meeting were Cardinal Silvestrini, secretary of the Church Council for Public Affairs; Archbishop Luigi Poggi; and Poland's permanent representative for contacts with the Holy See, Minister Jerzy Kuberski. As well as international and bilateral issues, the talks concerned the church's legal position in Poland and the agriculture development fund.

In the afternoon, before leaving for Warsaw, Minister Stefan Olszowski met with journalists of the Italian press and correspondents of foreign press and agencies accredited to Rome. Sharing his impressions of the visit to the Italian capital, he highly assessed the course of his 2 days of talks with Minister Giulio Andreotti. He declared that both sides are actively interested in the development of Polish-Italian relations. Poland attaches great importance to dialogue with Rome: It is important for both our countries as well as for all of Europe.

Two agreements--one on establishing a Polish cultural institute in Rome and an Italian cultural institution in Krakow, and one on avoiding dual tariffs in trade relations--are the specific results of the visit. Our economic cooperation, primarily in the motor industry, will develop. Our concern over the arms race is mutual as is our anxiety for the preservation of peace. These matters, Minister Olszowski said, were also reflected in the talks with Pope John Paul II which he described as sincere and constructive,

and furthering the relations between Poland and Vatican as well as the state-church dialogue in our country.

I will add that the visit by the Polish foreign minister was viewed with great interest by the Italian press. Commentaries carried today assess its results as positive and significant for the further development of mutual relations.

CSO: 2600/835

POLAND

RFE-VOA QUOTES OF CARDINAL BLASTED

LD231629 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1100 GMT 23 Jun 85

[Text] Under the title of "Reporters on Some Lecture," PERSPEKTYWY comments on the new activity of Polish language Western radio broadcasting stations which, quote, are using the new cardinal, Henryk Gulbinowicz, in a political game and while doing this, diminish the significance of the primate, unquote. We learn in the article that Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Voice of America have recently been occupying themselves reporting on a lecture on new pastoral directions which Cardinal Henryk Gulbinowicz delivered in Rome.

We read in PERSPEKTYWY: Listeners to these broadcasts must wonder whether it was possible that the cardinal could have said words which the manipulators from RFE and the Voice of America put into his mouth. Those words are completely contradictory to the "civilization of life" and at the same time contradictory to the principle of refraining from political intrigues, which is being expressed by the church.

For example, the Voice of America claims that Cardinal Henryk Gulbinowicz, referring to the period between the wars, said: One must remember that this dynamic work of the church in the above-mentioned period was carried out in difficult conditions and as the bulwark of Christianity, that is, at a forefront of two superpowers hostile to the Lord and to Poland. Just beyond the western border of the second republic, the brown danger of Nazi Germany was growing, and in the east--an enormous bloc waging atheism.

Those who threatened the biological existence of the Polish nation in World War II and those to whom one owes the fact that Wroclaw is again a Polish city and can have a Polish cardinal, are treated here in the same way.

And how, according to the Voice of America, was the situation in Poland after liberation described in that lecture? A political and economic system which cannot win over the majority of the Polish people has been imposed on them. We have been overtaken by the so-called Eastern bloc.

There is nothing strange in this program. It has been known for quite a while what the attitude of the Voice of America is toward the East bloc states and how this station contributes to the development of dialogue and accord in Poland.

To emphasize the political and not the religious sense of the matter this radio station adds: Lack of time did not allow the speaker to present the planned, new directions in pastoral work. This is the way the subversive radio station wishes to see the role of the church in Poland: less time for pastoral activity, more time for politics. The people employed by the Voice of America cannot be expected to separate themselves from the campaign of hostility which is contradictory to the public interest, the PERSPEKTYWY journalist emphasizes concluding his article.

CSO: 2600/835

POLAND

SUMMARY OF EPISCOPATE CONFERENCE

LD232351 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Jun 85

[Text] Now we have extensive excerpts from the communique of the 207th plenary conference of the Polish Episcopate which took place in Szczecin between 20 and 23 June under the chairmanship of Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland.

This time, Szczecin has been selected as the meeting place of the pastors of the Holy Church in Poland as the bishop's seat of a diocese in the northern and western borderlands of the homeland. It is also here, therefore, that the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of establishing Polish church administration in the western and northern territories of our country have taken place. This anniversary is closely linked to the 40th anniversary of the restoration of the Polish state. Thereby, 13 years ago it was possible to finally establish the organization of the church established by Pope Paul VI by the decree of 24 June 1972 in the territories which, following World War II, after many centuries, again became part of the Polish state, as during the piast [royal dynasty] times. The Szczecin-Kamieniec, Koszalin-Kolobrzeg, Gorzow and Opole dioceses were then established and new borders of church provinces in that part of Poland were defined.

Greeting the pastors who arrived from all around Poland, Kazimierz Majdanski, the Szczecin-Kamieniec bishop, recalled the difficult history of spreading the gospel in western Pomerania, in the year 1124--the beginning of the mission of St Otto, Kolobrzeg bishop, at Boleslaw Krzywousty's invitation.

With great concern the bishops considered questions concerning the country which still continues to live through a multifarious crisis. The church, bound up with the nation for more than a thousand years, makes it contribution to the solution of the crisis by preaching the gospel of peace and the principles of social justice. Also by this is dictated the initiative of setting up an agricultural foundation that would aim at assisting the development of family farms. The church is not and does not want to be a political force. Faithful to the teachings of the Second Vatican Council, it in no way identifies with the political community nor associates with any political system, and preaching the truth of the gospel, it also respects and supports political freedom and citizens' responsibility. In the situation when the country is in need, the bishops recall the council's appeal:

Let every Christian feel his particular and appropriate calling in the political community, by virtue of which he should shine as an example, conscientiously perform his duties and serve the common interest, showing through action how authority can be reconciled with freedom, individual initiative with organic bonds and demands of the entire body public, and beneficial unity with fruitful variety.

The church declares itself for respecting social reconciliation that would lead to true national accord. Social peace is dependent on respect for human rights--the right to truth, freedom, justice, and love--and the civil laws must take into consideration natural human rights. No one should be persecuted for expressing concern for the common interest in a manner different to that perceived by those who exercise power. It is therefore everybody's right and duty--this too should be recognized by the state authorities--to contribute as far as possible to the true progress of his society. Such is the teaching of the council. It is also the teaching of the council that the church should however have, at all times and places, true freedom in preaching the faith, in teaching its social teachings, in fulfilling without hindrance its tasks among the people, and also in issuing moral judgments, even on issues concerning political matters when this is demanded by a person's basic rights or by the salvation of souls.

The bishops call for prayers so that trials of priests and laymen which give rise to justified anxiety may come to an end. The bishops, with the greatest concern, stressed the parents' and tutors' duty to take care of the religious life of children and young people going to summer camps, including those abroad.

The bishops have heard a report by Cardinal Primate Jozef Glemp on his talks with Premier General Wojciech Jaruzelski, held on 18 June 1985. They have also examined the contents of the talks conducted between representatives of the Episcopate and the state authorities.

A great contribution to the religious-moral life of our society is made by the priests through preaching Christ's gospel and fulfilling the church's mission. The church's pastors have discussed the priests' current pastoral work tasks, as well as their conditions of life and work, noting after the council that fraternal love demands of them that they always work in a close bond with the bishops and other brothers in priesthood, finding unity in their own life in the very unity of the church's mission. It is also their task--especially today--to show concern for the dignity of the sacred place and the prophesy of the word of the Lord. The bishops pay tribute to the priests for the common toil of preaching Christ--the crucified Christ--and encourage them to confirm, like the apostles, being able to abound and suffer want, through their example that the gift received for free from God should be given for free.

The bishops adopted a pastoral work program for 1985-86, which forms a part of great preparations by the church in Poland to the approaching Eucharistic Congress in 1987. The fundamental principle of the preparations is moral renewal of the entire nation and each and every man. The program is based

on Pope John Paul II's exhortation--reconciliation and expiation. As the motto for the Eucharistic Congress, the conference adopted words about Christ the Lord: He Loved Them Unto the End. The conference established two congress commissions--Theological-Pastoral, chaired by Bishop Stanislaw Napierala, and Organizational, led by Bishop Wladyslaw Miziolek.

The final point of the communique of the 207th conference of the Polish Episcopate relates that on the evening of 22 June the bishops visited churches and principal historical places of the Szczecin-Kamieniec diocese where they celebrated Holy Mass and preached God's word. Today, Sunday, 23 June, the bishops celebrated a thanksgiving Holy Mass in the cathedral square in Szczecin. A sermon was delivered by the primate. Foreign guests--Archbishop Frane Franic, Metropolitan of Split in Croatia, representative of southern Slavs; the bishop of Stockholm, Hubert Brandenburg, representative of the Scandinavian Episcopal Conference; and Cardinal Opilio Rossi from Rome took part in the celebrations.

CSO: 2600/835

POLAND

CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS DISCUSSED

LD231653 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 23 Jun 85

[Text] The state and the church: This week has brought an important event which has made us raise this subject. I am, of course, thinking about the meeting between General Jaruzelski and Primate Glemp. In fact, one can already describe these meetings as traditional. They have been held for 4 years but not all our fellow citizens have got used to these meetings as to a usual, if not routine, sign of dialogue conducted in the country. We still treat it as a novelty in our public life. Over to Zdzislaw Morawski:

[Morawski] I do not know whether it is a novelty. I believe some Poles have got used to it but when it comes to church-state relations, or rather state-church relations, I think there are some inhibitions or traditions which do not always correspond to what is happening in the country in reality and what is involved.

The state's policy in relation to the church, the state's religious policy, is certainly very unchanging. I think that this policy has been the same since 1956, with some minor turnings or tone differences. It puts the stakes on dialogue, although one should say that in this long period there were also moments when, unfortunately, this dialogue was absent, and it was not only the church which was to blame. And at the same time, state policy puts its stakes on good church-state relations and coexistence and cooperation between state and church in many important areas. We have recently had the 40th anniversary of the church's mission in the western territories. This area has been a vast field of cooperation for the whole period of 40 years. The battle of the state and the church for international recognition of the western territories was a joint battle. This is only one example, another was the battle for international recognition of the Odra and Nysa border.

[Unnamed presenter] But let us point out that this battle did not start immediately after World War II.

[Morawski] Yes. However, the church has had some merits here and if the state had not signed an agreement--the agreement of 1970--the Vatican would not have recognized the Odra and Nysa border. Thus the decision, the basic achievement, belonged to the state but the church certainly had its great

share in it. It is one example of a possibility and a need for cooperation to achieve important and great national aims.

However, there exists--I must say there have been many phenomena in existence recently--which make such cooperation difficult. There is something new here. Why? We have lived through a very difficult period. In recent years we have experienced a period of enormous political tensions and a situation has emerged where a group or some political centers of various kinds, very often lay and ill-disposed toward the church, attempted to use the church as their own chief benefactor, or as a disguise behind which political activity is carried out. Unfortunately, one should say that some of the clergy, I think a small number, fell for this sort of attitude for various reasons, the more so as such anticommunist "pants" [podmuchy] in the political sphere also occur on an international scale. There has been an increase of this kind of activity. Here, there is a reservation: There is no possibility for coexistence between the church and the Marxist world outlook. They are antagonistic world outlooks...

[Unnamed presenter interrupts] I mean there is a possibility of coexistence, but...

[Morawski interrupts] Wait a minute. I think that in the (?ideological) world outlook the stance of Marxists and Catholics is totally opposite and in this area the ideological battle goes on and always has been going on, and one should not conceal it. However, transferring these differences on to the platform of politics and the political system, cooperation between believers and nonbelievers is very harmful. But, as the Polish experience of the whole 40 years shows, the coexistence of believers and nonbelievers during the whole of that period has been--with minor exceptions--very good, excellent even and much better than in many other countries where Catholic forces are in power and where there is no similar situation to that existing in our country where the leading force is a Marxist party.

[Unnamed presenter] This does not change the fact that state-church relations are a delicate matter, or at least are perceived as an exceptionally delicate matter. Incidentally, those who tried to, let's put it this way, disturb it, knew about this well, too.

[Morawski] They certainly knew about it. Anyway, the result of that was very painful, but I must say it was painful primarily for the state and also for state and church relations. So, where have we arrived? They are a common good. Good state and church relations are the common good of all Poles, believers and the nonbelievers alike. The fact that they are difficult--I don't think they have ever been easy during the 40 years. It results from the very heart of the matter and it would be telling a lie to say they can be easy. However, they are valuable and can be good.

And now the final matter. In the recent months, suggestions have emerged...

[Unnamed presenter interrupts] I wanted to ask you about this...

[Morawski interrupts] ...assessments.

[Unnamed presenter] And I would like to ask you about this. There are people who claim that the state-church dialogue is a sort of smokescreen created by the authorities. There are many such comments in the West but there are also some of our fellow citizens who think that in fact the authorities are waging a war, an open war with the church. This is proved, for example, by reporting on trials of such and such a priest who broke the law.

[Morawski interrupts] ...about criticizing in the press of certain phenomena, homolies, etc., etc.... I would answer this in the following way: This week we have already had a Sejm session where environmental protection was criticized very badly, very severely. We have many phenomena that we talk about very critically. There are even cases--I saw in one of the weeklies a report about a voivoda who got drunk and who was removed from his office because of that. There was such a report, probably in the PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY. A question arises here, whether we in state radio who are talking about it, or in the press, are harming the state. Does this slander or criticize the state? No. Critical activity often aims at healing the situation, at showing and disclosing. I think this is how it is as far as criticizing the individual phenomena that also exist in the church's activity and its relations with the state--maybe not all the church, it would not be true, but in the activity of individual priests.

Should one conceal this? There were facts that were concealed all the time--one concealed that the weather was bad and that there was drought.

[Unnamed presenter interrupts] Nothing good came of that.

[Morawski] Nothing good came out of that. There were facts; I shall give an example: In the foreign trade there was a rule among the bureaucrats, although they perhaps are not a majority there, that one should not write badly about anything because export possibilities would be lost. This isn't true. Questions can only be solved this way. The same concerns these individual cases. We should talk about it. The taboo has ended in this area and one should talk about it. At least, I think so. However, one should say it with tact. One should say it in such a way that the feelings of believers--who are a large group in our society--will not be hurt. And one should say it in such a way and tone, of course always in a civilized way, that it would serve to improve church-state relations and not harm them. If it is done in this way, very often it is--although not always--then it is a positive phenomenon, and as a matter of fact nobody in Poland today should think that he is entitled to be beyond criticism. Nobody has such a right. I do not think the church has such a right either. Moreover, if this criticism is reliable and concerns concrete facts, it serves our higher good, a superior value, that is, good church-state relations that can be good when there exists a separation of the church and the state and when there are set rules in this area. And if the church is concerned with performing its church mission and does not do it, then it does not do it much good, and in fact it is condemned by the Vatican on principle, although it is not respected in practice--and sometimes it is not respected here--if the church occupies itself with the broadly understood religious mission and not with political activity.

POLAND

POLISH STAKHANOVITE HIGHLIGHTED IN MOSCOW TRUD

PM231319 Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 May 85 p 3

[Correspondent Yu. Vasilkov dispatch: "A Veteran's Concerns"]

[Text] Warsaw--Michal Krajewski is a legend in Poland. A soldier in the Polish Armed Forces, a participant in the liberation of his country, a prominent figure in the building of the new Warsaw, initiator of the brick-layers' Stakhanovite movement in the immediate postwar years, public figure, and writer. M. Krajewski recently celebrated his 80th birthday. He is still at his post. The collective of the newspaper, TWORCZOSC ROBOTNIKOW, which he heads, is engaged in energetic journalistic and organizational activity.

M. Krajewski was recently the guest of the National Trade Union Accord. The meeting talked about the main trends in the development of the Polish trade union movement. It also discussed a problem which is of particularly deep concern to the veteran, namely, the organizing of labor competition. He has devoted many articles to this topic, including a large article published in TWORCZOSC ROBOTNIKOW.

"What does labor competition mean?" the author asks. And he answers it by saying: "If we look closely at the competition taking place among workers in such leading sectors as metallurgy, machine building, textiles, transport, and others, or at the state agricultural sector, we see that this kind of competition has nothing at all to do, nor can have, with the unfortunate propagation of this concept as a kind of 'race,' akin to a sports competition, a 'race' based on muscular strength."

M. Krajewski takes issue with those people who quite recently openly tried to dispense with the very notion of competition, alleging that it is inhuman, and leads to workers' becoming exhausted by work that is beyond them. "Societies which have carried out a proletarian revolution and have begun building socialism," Krajewski writes, "are undergoing a fundamental change in their attitude to work. Both the content and the meaning of labor are changing and its creative basis is deepening. In this context, competition becomes a fundamental principle."

M. Krajewski notes that it behooves all trade unions to put this principle into practice. "Socialist competition," he continues, "for a society engaged in raising the edifice of socialism and blazing the trail toward communism is precisely the same as health and a regular pulse is to a healthy human organism. Without competition there can be no progress in building socialism."

The veteran of Poland's Stakhanovite movement notes that it is no coincidence that the opponents of People's Poland are attacking precisely this form of practical socialism with particular frenzy and persistence. What is being offered in its stead? Above all, raw materials, and energy resources, and neglect of technical progress. And in our leisure time the stupefying and distorting paranoia of Western culture.

Socialist competition is the supreme university of communist education and at the same time an immense school of the socialist remolding of civic consciousness and the creation of new personal values, M. Krajewski writes in conclusion of his article.

CSO: 1830/656

POLAND

OPPOSITION TRIAL IN KATOWICE

AU211025 Paris AFP in English 1023 GMT 21 Jun 85

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 21 June (AFP--Seven militant members of the banned trade union Solidarity will shortly stand trial in Katowice, southern Poland, on charges of disturbing public order, and printing and distributing underground union matter, an independent source said here today.

They are accused of being involved with the "provisional clandestine commission" (TKK) which ordered counter-demonstrations in protest against official celebrations marking labor day on 1 May.

The accused, who face three-year prison sentences, include mining engineers Zbigniew Bogacz, 40, who organized a coal mine strike in Katowice in protest against the martial law declaration of December 1981.

Dismissed and jailed for one year, he has been unemployed ever since.

Meanwhile, police arrested Ewa Kuberna, 23, while she was allegedly transporting "illegal publications which harmed state interests," the Polish news Agency PAP reported today.

Independent sources put the number of political prisoners in Poland at present at over 200. [passage omitted]

CSO: 2020/148

POLAND

JABLONSKI MEETS PRC'S WANG RENZHONG

LD212225 Warsaw PAP in English 2117 GMT 21 Jun 85

[Text] Warsaw, 21 June--President of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski received in the Belvedere Palace here today the visiting delegation of China's National People's Congress, headed by Vice-Chairman of its Standing Committee Wang Renzhong.

The sides revised joint undertakings over the past few years, pointing out with satisfaction that the ensuing climate may have a positive effect on a further development of bilateral relations.

They also exchanged views on possible areas of further, mutually advantageous exchange and cooperation in the economy, culture, science and technology, and on the role of the two parliaments might play in this process.

The Chinese parliamentarians spoke about their Polish visit, stressing the widespread hospitality they had met with.

The head of the delegation conveyed greetings addressed to Henryk Jablonski by Chinese President LI Xiannian. The president of Poland's Council of State reciprocated, asking that greetings to the Chinese president be also conveyed to the Chinese nation as a whole.

The audience at the Belvedere Palace was the last item in the time-table of official meetings held in Poland by the delegation of the Chinese National People's Congress. During their seven-day stay, the Chinese parliamentarians held talks at the Sejm, which meant a resumption, after many years, of direct parliamentary contacts between the two countries.

The will to continue those contacts was reflected by the invitation for an official delegation of the Polish Sejm to pay a visit to China. The invitation was handed to Sejm speaker Stanislaw Gucwa.

Apart from meetings and talks in Warsaw, the Chinese guests visited Gdansk and the south-eastern province of Kielce, to get acquainted with this country's economic issues. The Chinese delegation is leaving tomorrow.

CSO: 2020/148

POLAND

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER RECAPS FOREIGN POLICY

LD212232 Warsaw PAP in English 2100 GMT 21 Jun 85

[Text] Warsaw, 21 June--The balance sheet of foreign relations last year and in the first half of 1985 testifies to an essential improvement in Poland's international position, Deputy Foreign Minister Jan Kinast told EXPRESS WIECZORNY daily today.

Poland consolidated its ties with socialist states and expanded relations with developing states. And, despite the continuing negative tendencies in the policy of the United States and other NATO countries, there has been a progress in the process of normalization of relations with Western states, the minister stated.

A big breach was made in the political isolation that the U.S. planned to impose on Poland, Kinast added. He added:

"Normalization of our relations with the West is by no means proceeding without difficulties. It is not us, however, that are to blame. They result from attitudes taken by certain NATO states with regard to this country. This proves that Political realism has not got the upper hand in all Western states as yet, that some of them have not given up attempts at destabilization of our internal situation and at interference in our internal, Polish affairs."

"The absence of realism when it comes to relations with Poland is perhaps most conspicuous on the part of the United States.

"The current, minor corrections to Washington's policies do not indicate whether this will be a permanent tendency. This rather is an attempt at a slow adjustment to changing political conditions. We expect this process to slowly consolidate.

"For our part, we have not once said we seek an improvement of relations with the U.S., just like with other countries. We also put forward concrete initiatives which have not been accepted so far. It is obvious at the same time that normalization of mutual relations will only be possible if the United States gives up the policy of restrictions and interference."

"Our security, territorial integrity and border inviolability are being safeguarded by our membership in the Warsaw Treaty.

"Our relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist states develop successfully in all fields.

"Relations with developing countries have intensified and assumed new forms. We regard them as very significant, as those countries make interesting partners for us, also for the future, both in economic cooperation and in political dialogue. We also remember that most of them did not break constructive relations with Poland even in the most difficult period.

"Along with the developing process of internal stabilization, Poland returns to her traditional position in the East-West dialogue. Our external opponents did not manage to shove Poland to the side-track. She after all constitutes an essential element of European security. A strong and stable Poland is an internationally indispensable factor strengthening security, contributing to the development of international dialogue and cooperation," Jan Kinast said.

CSO: 2020/148

POLAND

COOL RECEPTION FOR OLSZOWSKI IN ITALY

AU221340 Paris AFP in English 1301 GMT 22 Jun 85

[Text] Vatican City, 22 June (AFP)--Pope John Paul II today discussed the worsening relations between the Polish authorities and the Catholic Church with Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski, reliable sources said.

On his arrival Mr. Olszowski was given a cool reception, in marked contrast to that accorded to Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko a few months ago.

During the 40-minute meeting Mr. Olszowski sought the pope's support against the U.S. sanctions imposed on Poland, the sources said.

He was also said to have asked for diplomatic relations between Poland and the Vatican City to be raised to ambassador level. At present they exist only as "delegations for permanent working contacts."

On the first point, the pope agreed with Polish bishops that the sanctions hit the people harder than the authorities. But he did not judge the time ripe for the appointment of a Polish ambassador to the Holy See and the creation of a papal nuncio in Warsaw, the Vatican sources said.

One of the factors clouding the developing of relations between Poland and the Vatican was said to be the recent prison sentences imposed in Gdansk on three leading Polish dissidents.

Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi was understood to have refused to meet Mr. Olszowski yesterday on those grounds, although the Polish foreign minister did meet President Sandro Pertini and his Italian counterpart Giulio Andreotti.

CSO: 2020/148

POLAND

GLEMP ON GERMAN RELATIONS

AU231936 Paris AFP in English 1930 GMT 23 Jun 85

[Text] Warsaw, 23 June (AFP)--Poland's Roman Catholic Primate, cardinal Jozef Glemp, today called for reconciliation between Poland and Germany and between Poles, in a sermon celebrating the 40th anniversary of the recovery of Polish territory after the Second World War.

Speaking at Szczecin Cathedral in north west Poland, Monsignor Glemp said "disagreements", "mistrust" and "divisions" over territory that have marked Polish-German relations should be overcome in a spirit of love and forgiveness.

About 30 former Szczecin Solidarity leaders, imprisoned after martial law was imposed in 1981, attended the service. They carried a banner with a triangle encircling a letter "p"--the "p" standing for political prisoner.

The ceremony commemorated the return of land east of the rivers Oder and Neisse in 1945, annexed by Germany in the war. [sentence as received]

Polish bishops meeting at Szczecin, today condemned recent political trials in Poland, and called on the government to respect human rights.

Their remarks were aimed at prison sentences of up to five years given to Solidarity leaders Adam Michnik, Wladislaw Frasyniuk and Bogdan Lis, and a one year sentence passed against Father Andrzej Wilczynski.

The priest supported a strike by students who protested against the removal of crucifixes from their classrooms.

CSO: 2020/148

POLAND

MICHNIK ESSAY SMUGGLED OUT FOR PUBLICATION IN WEST

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German No 20, 13 May 85 pp 170-171

[Text] Adam Michnik, 38, Poland's best-known critic of its regime, has again been in prison since February 13, 1985. He wrote the following text in Gdansk's Kurkowa prison; the manuscript was smuggled to DER SPIEGEL.

Government spokesman Jerzy Urban claims that I very much wanted to be arrested, as an instrument of my Pentagon contacts who are said to be interested in spreading a false image of the Jaruzelski regime.

Urban's conclusions show irrefutably that total peace reigns in Poland, that the government enjoys a tremendous moral authority and has the broad support of the overwhelming majority of the people. Only tiny groups of terrorists, on instruction from Ronald Reagan, are storming the prisons, pleading to be put in jail.

In reality, the clever government spokesman cannot understand that there are people who are not afraid of doing what they think is right, despite the prospect of jail.

Nevertheless, I have asked myself time and again in my nightly conversations with myself in prison for the reasons why Bogdan Lis, Wladyslaw Frasnyniuk and I might have been arrested. The answer is that those in government are afraid of increased social tensions while the quality of life keeps deteriorating. In addition, it was a matter of assuaging the state security apparatus that was frustrated by the Torun trial against the state's assassins of Popieluszko.

Still, our arrests are proof that the state does not accomplish anything by repression--at least not in Poland and not today.

It is, of course, possible to govern by repression and, if the geopolitical situation is favorable, that can be done for a rather long time. However, in doing so, it is impossible to get beyond the status of a military province ruled by a foreign power. The old form of repression does not convince anybody anymore; our arrest is not going to intimidate or get anybody to surrender. It has been like that for 5 years. It is typical for radicals and people in exile to delude themselves into believing that dictatorships rule only by the use of force. That is not true. Long-lasting dictatorships produce a type of person who is no longer used to freedom and truth, to the dignity of the individual.

The critical moment for any dictatorship comes when human sovereignty is perking up its head and when unofficial social relationships are formed outside established groups, e.g., outside the party. Under the so-called most progressive systems of real socialism, such moments of wavering never lasted for more than a few months. On the other hand, in Poland--a true miracle on the Vistula--the structures of an independent society have been in operation for several years.

If it would permit the liquidation of its independent institutions, the whole country would become a prison.

The Polish reality is that in the 40 months since the state of war was imposed, there has continued to exist a broad resistance movement against the dictatorship and an even broader front of opposition to the generals.

At the same time, there have been no terrorist activities, no assassinations or kidnappings by Solidarity. Only the state's power apparatus uses such methods. What formulas are there for this unusual situation, in which reprisals and the simple wearing-down of human beings--the most reliable ally of any dictatorship--could not defeat or push into terrorism Solidarity, the most important institution of this civil disobedience movement?

How has the Polish population overcome the alternative between servility and despair that is common to all defeated peoples?

I think the Polish people does not feel it has been defeated. The state is no longer able to govern in the old way, and it is unable to do it in the new way--such as the Lenin formula with which the communists are familiar. People no longer want to live the way they used to in the past, and they are not afraid of new lifestyles.

The Poles are no longer willing to live with their lack of freedom. "To govern in a new way" means not to view the willingness of the people to determine their fate as a passing evil, but as social reality. This is the way that leads to dialog and compromise.

Is it possible to have a compromise between a prison guard and a prisoner? Are our "fundamentalists" right in their belief that a democratic change can only occur if the international communist system falls apart? Whose ultimate goal, therefore, is Poland's complete independence from the USSR and the total loss of power on the part of the communists?

Nobody in Poland today could substantiate the thesis that the Poles would use force to chase the Soviet troops out of their country and the communists from power. The military power of the USSR is much too strong.

To put it differently: we have no canons. Such an answer made Napoleon cut off any further conversation. But Napoleon was interested in a victory of his army, not in establishing a democratic and pluralistic society. Hence, we cannot be satisfied with such a reply. It needs clarification.

History has taught many lessons: when we use force to bring down old fortifications, we immediately put up new ones, whether we like it or not.

A plan for a freedom fight must contain, I believe, the historic knowledge of the possible consequences of using revolutionary force. Members in freedom movements must take into account the experiences of terrorist degeneration; otherwise, freedom--according to Simone Veil's well-known formula--would again be a refugee from the camp of the victors.

The psyche of a lynching crowd in Hungary in 1956 is understandable, but it would be difficult not to remember the twisty back-alley on the way to freedom. It was a lesson of national defeat and not a lesson of how to win democratic freedom.

While the 1968 spring in Prague was able to avoid the terror of a revolution, it did get caught in a big myth of national unity. The revolutionary process did not reach the highest level of internal polarization when the question of the communist power position became an issue.

Only Poland reached the level of a conscious fight to stem the power of the communist Nomenklatura and install real pluralism, as permitted within the boundaries of the Brezhnev doctrine. This is why revolutionary terror was foreign to Solidarity.

The strategy worked out by Solidarity bore its most important fruits after the state of war was imposed, when the concerted attack by the army and police met with unconventional forms of resistance--with the "silence of the sea."

Even if the lack of political freedom of the Poles should continue for a long time because of unfavorable international circumstances, nobody would be able to expunge from the heads of the Polish population all the books and magazines they have read and all the discussions they have had.

The essence of Kadar or Husak-type normalizations was the total destruction of all institutions in an independent society. Forty months after the Soviet intervention, Hungary looked like a political graveyard; 40 months after the normalization, Czechoslovakia had turned into the cultural Biafra of Europe, as Aragon described it so succinctly.

In Poland, on the other hand, after an officially mandated liquidation of the independent labor unions, youth organizations, magazine editorial offices, I repeat: after 40 months of reprisals and provocations, the society of independent citizens is neither annihilated nor smashed--an unprecedented phenomenon.

The situation is less reminiscent of a communist country after its victory than of a democratic society after a military putsch. What a large distance the Poles have covered on their way from totalitarianism to democracy!

Capt. Piotrowski, the principal murderer of the priest Jerzy Popieluszko, has become the idol of his colleagues in the State Security Service. I myself heard them say so during my arrest and interrogations. When I stepped with them into

the car immediately after bidding goodbye to Lech Walesa, they said, "For Mr. Michnik, there is still space in the trunk." These jokers did not even make an effort to pretend.

The generals were different. They are attaching great importance to appearances. Contrary to the facts, they do not want to be held responsible for this murder. This is why the Torun trial had to take place, and that is why the accused stuck to their assertion that there had been no orders from "above" and that the kidnapping and murder of the priest had been their partisan action and their own idea.

Behind the trial's smoke curtain, no political change has taken place. To destroy the structures of sovereignty won by society, they now have Solidarity activists arrested in the old style and, after absurd accusations, sentenced by disciplined courts. I was promoted to membership in Solidarity's Provisional Coordinating Commission, which I no doubt would have considered an honor if the appointment had not taken place in the offices of the State Security Service in Gdansk.

The list of political prisoners continues to grow. If the imprisonment of Lis, Frasyuniuk and myself would at least cast a ray of light on the other prisoners, our stay in prison would not be in vain.

Thus the prison machine is again merrily in motion. It couldn't have been any other way. Despite their economic failures (the winter has once again taken the administrators of my country by complete surprise), during their renewed attack on the standard of living and social accomplishments (eight-hour day, free Saturdays without work), amidst social tensions that may lead the workers to explode in their anger--the generals are relying entirely on citizen fear of the regime.

In vain. The organizational status of Solidarity, those dozens of illegally published, first-rate magazines and excellent books, the seriousness of the discussion in Poland, accompanied by a willingness to take risks--that is what I call the miracle on the Vistula.

Between the last two of my imprisonments, I attended student and worker seminars, read new magazines published in a number of cities and circulating in very diverse circles. I saw books by Popper and Kundera, Besancon and Aron, Orwell and Chestove, Solzhenitsyn and Havel, not to speak of Polish authors--books published by sidestepping censorship. I saw free painting and independent photography, also the first uncensored films on video cassettes. I saw churches as oases of spiritual independence.

The central idea of Solidarity, its striving for a self-governing republic--not for power in the state--provides a chance that I will not find a guillotine when this movement has attained its goal, no execution commandos against new "enemies of the people."

The Poles do not expect help from anybody. They do not bet on Reagan, they do not count on the Pershings, they do not hold out any hope for the Geneva negotiations. While welcoming any solidarity gesture from any part of the world, they know that they can rely only on themselves. Nobody is going to help them to overcome the problems they are now facing.

None of the causes for tension has been eliminated, none of the conflict-causing problems has been resolved. Normalization in the sense of understanding has proven an illusion. Normalization, understood to mean pacification, has failed. So what else is there to happen?

The current conflict may lead to an explosion or a dialog which the Provision Coordinating Commission and Lech Walesa are working to establish. The higher the extent to which independent Poles can organize themselves, the better the chances their strategy has of succeeding. For justice that lynches, an enraged population is enough; to compromise, an organized society is needed.

Last July, our generals lost the battle for amnesty. They already have lost the entire "cold civil war." But that does not mean they would give up on making life miserable for us; that we will no longer be kidnapped, beaten or killed, dragged behind bars and sentenced as rowdies or subversives.

It is entirely possible that Gen. Jaruzelski, so captivating in his military modesty, and Gen. Kiszczak with his charming natural simplicity, may decide to rob us of some more years of our lives.

They have experience in this, the thought of people behind bars--with the possible exception of Co. Pietruszka or Capt. Piotrowski--does not cause them sleepless nights. On the contrary, every arrest warrant they sign gives them the feeling that they have done their duty. And it is possible that they also believe this will continue forever.

They are wrong. They have become too sure of themselves. Here, one may wake up one beautiful spring morning in an entirely changed country. Here, party secretaries, only dressed in underpants, had to flee more than once from their burning office building. Edward Gierek, a favorite of Brezhnev's and so highly thought of by Lemust Schmidt and Giscard d'Estaing as well as Jimmy Carter--within a week, he tumbled from the top into nothing.

In their well-protected offices, depending on denunciations by their informers, the generals have no idea what the simple people think about them. But although we are behind bars, we know exactly. Therefore, based on what I know, I can only wish in their interest that the conflict in Poland will develop into a dialog.

Because, if it turns into an explosion, the generals would have only one choice: to look for Bogdan Lis or Wladyslaw Frasyuniuk, their prisoners today, to snatch them from the flaming embraces of death.

7821

CSO: 2300/408-F

POLAND

HEALTH OFFICIAL OUTLINES PROBLEM OF ALCOHOLISM

LD202018 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 20 Jun 85

[Text] What and how we drink: Interview by Malgorzata Kolinska with Wladyslaw Gora, deputy minister of health and social welfare.

[Begin recording] [Kolinska] How much alcohol does an average Pole drink?

[Gora] We assess that last year 6.3 liters of alcohol were drunk. I would like to add that this is less than in 1980 when consumption per capita amounted to 8.4 liters, but apart from this we have about 20 percent unregistered alcohol consumption generally known as moonshine, and this is causing concern.

[Kolinska] How many Poles drink, and how many Poles drink to excess?

[Gora] Naturally, these figures are estimates, we assume that about 4 million people drink to excess, but this should not be mistaken for alcoholism, unfortunately about 600,000-800,000 are sick and depend on alcohol.

[Kolinska] Against these statistics can you assess the effectiveness of 2 years of operation of the law on upbringing in sobriety? This law first of all was to limit the access to alcohol, to regulate its use, and to introduce civilized drinking habits.

[Gora] Opportunities have been created for successfully combating alcoholism, but until now the legal sanctions have not been implemented. Last week the praesidium of the Commission for Combating Alcoholism at the Council of Ministers adopted definite steps.

[Kolinska] What are they?

[Gora] The price of alcohol, access to alcohol, and the creation of a model of consumption, more less potent alcoholic drinks and less vodka.

[Kolinska] Can we expect that fewer alcoholic drinks to appear on the market?

[Gora] Yes, these are the recommendations of the law, and the ministry, and the pattern of alcohol consumption indicates a certain improvement in this direction. [end recording]

CSO: 2600/835

POLAND

BRIEFS

WARSAW PLENUM ON INDUSTRY--Issues concerning the development of industry in the capital were discussed at a Warsaw party committee plenum. Kazimierz Barcikowski and Albin Siwak took part in the proceedings, which were chaired by Marian Wozniak. [No video available] [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 21 Jun 85 LD]

1905 LODZ UPRISING COMMEMORATED--On the eve of the 80th anniversary of the June uprising of Lodz workers in 1905 central festivities marking this event have begun in the capital of the Polish textile industry. A scientific symposium devoted to the importance of the 1905-07 revolution on Polish soil has been held at the cotton industry factory named after Dzierzynski. Taking part in the meeting which was organized at the initiative of the Main Board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society were many Polish and Soviet men of learning, including Professor Marian Orzechowski, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and rector of the Academy of Social Sciences. [Excerpt] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 21 Jun 85 LD]

URBAN DEFENDS SOLIDARNOSC CRITICISM--Today's commentary by Jan Rem [pen name of Jerzy Urban] from the "Samosady" [Summary Justice] series is entitled "Dancing Guitars." [as heard] After discussing the Polish language periodical SOLIDARNOSC-ZYCIE POLONII, the author, while responding to accusations by a Western journalist that allegedly the party and the government constantly criticize the Solidarity union, states that our criticism concerns, after all, not the membership of Solidarity and Solidarity as a whole, but the policy of the leading bodies of the former union. Today the trademark, name, and sign of Solidarity, writes Jan Rem, is used by all those who are fighting against our system and the existing Polish state. In the commentary, there is also an analysis of the opinion polls in which a question was asked about people's former union membership, without the need to reveal their names. According to the polls, it transpires that half of the former Solidarity members who were questioned about their membership falsified their past. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 20 Jun 85 LD]

GOVERNMENT'S PRESS INFORMATION POLICY--The Press Council attached to the chairman of the Council of Ministers has convened its inaugural session in Warsaw. Mieczyslaw Rakowski, deputy premier, informed the participants of the session about the government's information policy. He said that the

Press Council should have a major role to play in shaping journalistic ethics and in the process of controlling the way in which the press act operates. Among the positive aspects of the act he mentioned the right to criticism and the right to gain information. It is the government's view that replies to press criticism of some institutions are lacking in hard content. During discussion, Press Council members drew attention to the need for improving further the system of training of journalistic cadres. The conviction was expressed that the work of the council would make for further normalization of life in the country and for strengthening the constitutional principle of freedom of speech. Jozef Krolikowski, editor in chief of GLOS WYBRZEZA has been elected chairman of the council. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 19 Jun 85 LD]

SHOES TO USSR--Today the USSR and Polish ministers of foreign trade signed an agreement on the delivery to the Soviet Union of shoes made in Poland from Soviet raw materials. These shoes will also be available on the Polish market; this kind of repayment has been stipulated in the agreement. [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 26 Jun 85]

HUNGARIAN TRANSPORT AGREEMENT--A Polish-Hungarian contract of record value has been signed in Budapest. The largest cooperation contract in history was concluded today with Hungary; it amounts to 350 million rubles. According to the contract Hungary is to deliver 7,000 bus chasses, and in exchange Hungary will purchase 2,500 trucks from Starachowice, 10,000 small Polski Fiat cars, and more electronic and computer equipment. [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 26 Jun 85]

USSR-GDR ATTEND NAVY'S ANNIVERSARY--The central celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Navy have been held in the Tri-city. The high point was the ceremonial meeting in Gdynia-Oksywie. Representatives of the friendly fleets of the Soviet Union and the GDR attended. The 40-year achievement of the Navy was presented by commander of the Navy Admiral Ludwik Janczyszyn. Deputy Minister of National Defense General Jozef Baryla, speaking of the threats connected with the arms race, stressed the significance of the Warsaw Pact for guaranteeing peace. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 29 Jun 85]

UGANDAN MINISTER'S VISIT--A delegation of the Republic of Uganda, headed by Luwuliza-Kirunda, minister of internal affairs and secretary general of the People's Congress of Uganda, paid an official visit to Poland at an invitation of Roman Malinowski, deputy premier. The leader of the delegation of Uganda conveyed a message from President Milton Obote to Wojciech Jaruzelski. During talks the socio-political situation in both states was discussed and an exchange of opinions on the international situation was made. A framework agreement between the PZPR and the People's Congress of Uganda and a protocol from talks envisaging signing of detailed agreements in the economic, scientific and technical and cultural areas, were signed. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 29 Jun 85]

POLISH-BRITISH ECONOMIC COOPERATION--On 11 June Deputy Premier Obodowski received the chairman of the British council for Foreign Trade, Lord Jellicoev. They discussed prospects for Polish-British economic cooperation. [Summary] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jun 85 p 5]

POLISH-KOREAN TRADE--Deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski received CZE Dzon Gun, minister of foreign trade of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, on 11 June. They discussed the implementation of decisions made by a joint Polish-Korean intergovernmental commission on trade. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jun 85 p 5]

POLISH-SWEDISH TRADE--On 10 June Swedish Ambassador to Poland Oerjan Berner paid a visit to Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade Andrzej Dorosz. They discussed Polish-Swedish trade against the background of Poland's economic development. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jun 85 p 5]

BEDNARKI MEETS CZECHOSLOVAK DELEGATION--PZPR Central Committee secretary Henryk Bednarki met members of a Czechoslovak delegation who are visiting Poland in connection with a Czechoslovak culture festival. Ludovit Pezlav, secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee and Politburo member, was among the senior members of the Czechoslovak delegation. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jun 85 p 5]

POLISH-YUGOSLAV PLAN COORDINATION--In Belgrade on 11 June Polish-Yugoslav talks commenced on the final coordination of plans for the period 1986-90. The Polish delegation is led by Minister Jerzy Gwiazdinski, deputy director of the Planning Commission attached to the Council of Ministers. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jun 85 p 7]

CZYREK AT RZESZOW MEETING--A plenary session of the RZESZOW PZPR Voivodship Committee was held on 11 June. Under discussion were the tasks faced by voivodship party organizations stemming from a resolution adopted at the 19th Plenum Central Committee of the PZPR. It was stressed that factory party committees should not replace administrative bodies, but should be a real political mortal force which presses for modernization. Central Committee secretary and politburo member Jozef Czyrek was present at the session, and stated that the integration of the intelligentsia with workers and peasants should be sought in the workplace. He said that the intelligentsia's feeling of responsibility for those branches of the economy in which it works should be increased. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jun 85 p 2]

MICHALEK AT ELBLAG MEETING--The tasks of the intelligentsia in the socio-economic and cultural development of the region were discussed at a plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Elblag on 11 June. The plenum was attended by PZPR Central Committee secretary Zbigniew Michalek, who took part in the discussions. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jun 85 p 2]

KUBIAK MEETS PARTY SOCIOLOGISTS--A National seminar for party sociologists was held in Warsaw on 10-11 June. Participants in the seminar met Prof. Hieronim Kubiak, member of the Politburo of the PZPR CC. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jun 85 p 5]

GDR-POLAND ECONOMIC MEETING--A number of government agreements were signed today at the conclusion of the 20th GDR-Poland joint economic commission session. Complex cooperation was agreed, including home and social construction, ferrous metallurgy, and in the chemical industry. A great part was also played in the discussions by scientific and technical cooperation, and plan coordination up to 1990. A press statement just released says that the positive development of economic cooperation is also seen in the fact that East German-Polish trade increased 9 percent in each of the past 2 years. An increase of 12 percent has been agreed for 1985. [Text] [East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 5 Jul 85 LD]

SOLOMENTSEV TOUR OF WARSAW--[TASS Report: "Delegation's Visit"]--Warsaw, 20 Jun--A delegation of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee headed by M.S. Solomentsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, acquainted itself yesterday with the Warsaw Party organization's activity and the life of the Polish capital. At the Warsaw Party Committee the delegation met with members of the Secretariat of the PZPR Voivodship Committee and the Presidium of the Voivodship Party Control Commission. M. Wozniak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Warsaw Party Committee, told the visitors about the party organization's preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress. A meeting was held on the same day between M.S. Solomentsev and T. Porebski member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The participants in the conversation exchanged experience of party work and stressed the party control organs' important role in implementing the fraternal parties' decisions. The Soviet guests were briefed on progress in constructing the Warsaw subway, which is being built with Soviet assistance, and visited the Ursynow residential district. The delegation was warmly received by workers at the Okecie Aviation Plant. At a meeting held with the party economic aktiv great attention was paid to questions of speeding up the introduction of scientific and technical achievements into production and expanding and deepening cooperation within CEMA. [Text] [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jun 85 First Edition p 4]

CSO: 1830/672

YUGOSLAVIA

STUDENTS CHARGE POLICE WITH HARASSMENT AT BREZOVICA MEETING

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Apr 85 p 3

[Article: "Incidents Without an 'Incident': Brezovica Only a Pretext"]

[Text] Even the smallest trifles, especially if presented in a concocted manner, can strongly result in an assessment and acceptance of things in a tone entirely different from the actual one. This is confirmed by everything that took place during and after the ninth meeting of students in the faculties of philosophy and philology of Yugoslavia, recently held at Sar Planina.

It is a well-known fact that the straight truth should not be kept locked up in anyone's safe-deposit box, nor can it be anyone's privilege. If this is so, then it is even less possible and desirable to introduce, in the name of an alleged threat to freedom, concocted and calculated theories concerning the methods of pressure, repression and police supervision. Even less so in this era of self-management socialism, regardless of the fact that we are apparently in a phase of exaggerated susceptibility in which even the smallest trifle can strongly result in an assessment and acceptance of things in a tone different from the actual one. This is borne out by everything that took place during, and especially after, the ninth meeting of students in the faculties of philosophy and philology of Yugoslavia, held from 25 to 30 March in the sports and recreation center at Brezovica.

What is this really about?

In the Name of Freedom

About a hundred students, representatives of the two faculties, worked, as is customary where meetings of this sort are concerned, in 10 instructional groups within the framework of which each group prepared one topic characteristic of that area. However, besides the student delegates registered with the organizer of the meeting--the faculty of philosophy at Pristina--there were another 25 "illegals" present. And nothing would have been unusual here if, after the academic work, several people had not, presumably to relax their minds, had a drop too much to drink, thus losing control, causing incidents and disturbing the peace of the other hotel guests. For this reason, late in the evening on the second day of the meeting, an on-duty

police patrol from nearby Strpce was forced to interrupt the party at a disco because of a fight. And here is apparently where sparks ignited, even though everything was done within the limits of what is proper and according to [police] department rules. And, of course, in the interest of truth.

With respect to the quarrel, individuals in some of the groups tried to politicize it. The group for history prepared [its work on] "The 1968 Student Incidents." It was an attempt to bring about those earlier student demonstrations. It was unsuccessful, as were the intrusions of the viewpoints of the bourgeois Right in treating the topic "Bureaucracy in Self-Management Socialism," as well as the propagandizing of fundamentalist Islam. Attempts to attack the system of socialist self-management and the policy of the League of Communists also failed. This was even circulated on the pages of the "Bulletin" that was published every day.

This is what the real quarrel and its course of development are about.

Expecting excesses, some of which had been announced, but in order to avoid a situation in which uniformed persons would be continually present, there were two plainclothesmen with badges from the internal security forces present at the hotel during the meeting, because of the possibility of [this precaution] being wrongly interpreted by the students.

However, this was apparently enough of a signal to some (it is questionable whether it was only students who were involved), seeing that they had not achieved their desired goal, to swoop right down on the SUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. The gangleaders circulated theories about everything allegedly done to keep the "Philosophiad" under a climate of pressure and lack of free thought, about how members of the SUP tried from all angles to strictly control all the reports and discussion, tapped and interrupted telephone conversations and conducted searches of individuals, creating a psychosis of fear among the participants at the meeting in the Hotel "Narcis."

It is more than obvious that this is a question of a contrived gamble with clear aims.

Contrived Gambles and Pressures

However, it did not stop with just stories. On the last day, letters of protest were written to the highest state and party organs, as well as to the federal secretary for internal affairs. After being read at the close of the meeting, these letters were met with frenetic applause and songs of devotion to the self-management socialist system.

"The future of a society that uses repression to prevent its scholar-communists in advance from critically and argumentatively examining the weaknesses of the social system must by necessity be questioned," reads part of one of the letters of protest. All this in the name of the constituent students who elected the delegates. Perhaps they thought that this course required no consultation [of the larger body of students].

Since then, the campaign begun at Brezovica, designed to discredit the SUP, has continued, first in MLADINA, and then in youth and student publications (TRIBUNA, NON, STUDENTSKI LIST, STUDENT). The letters of protest are being printed in their entirety, and then there are discussions with some individuals; the question is whether it is with intentionally selected participants, since everything is flavored with a little malice and ill will.

A detailed statement by the Provincial SUP of Kosovo sent to the Federal SUP states "that because of disturbances of the peace and unbecoming behavior, officials from internal affairs intervened twice when called upon by the management of the hotel. However, in view of the fact that the matter involved young people, no one was arrested or detained, nor were any charges filed against anyone, although there were enough reasons to do so. Everything else is fabrication and slander."

It should also be noted that the management of the "Narcis" has asked the meeting's organizers--the faculty of philosophy at Pristina--for 170,000 dinars to cover damage done by participants at the "Philosophiad." But none of this was disclosed in the articles and letters of protest.

Since it is known that at the Fourth Brioni Plenum--thus as early as 1966--society and the League of Communists dispensed with the methods (and the individuals who embodied them) which employees of the department of internal affairs are now being accused of using, then these theories, and especially their advocates, sound more than naive and ridiculous. The department of internal affairs fulfills its defined and entrusted duties with dignity and in accordance with the constitution and other laws. And as in every job, including this one, mistakes are made; however, this should not mean that any and all commonplace intervention by the police serve to launch theories about some sort of supposed police state.

It is a known fact that the battle to buy the souls and feelings of young people begins in times of crises and stagnation in social development. With some of them, there are attempts to manipulate the advocates of foreign ideas and orientations that are alien to self-management.

In the situation of the historical struggle for stabilization, for socialist self-management and for educational reform, young people are offered great opportunities to join in and bear witness to this process. In this concrete case, it is more than obvious that they were manipulated by a small group of malcontents. It is necessary, and not only for them, to keep a close watch out for such traps.

12271
CSO: 2800/342

17 July 1985

YUGOSLAVIA

KOSOVO PRESS ON NATIONALIST INCIDENTS, OTHER PROBLEMS

[Editorial Report] The 28 May 1985 issue of the Serbian-language daily JEDINSTVO (Pristina, page 8) reported the opening of the trial of Albanian nationalists and irredentists, i.e., seven students (mostly 19 and 20 years of age) from the "11. maj" secondary school and the "Bratstvo-jedinstvo OOUR in Pec, two of whom had formed a group in 1982 called the "Patriotic Organization-Ideals" (Patriotska organizacija-ideali) aimed toward "overthrowing the rule of the working class, overturning the sociopolitical system established by the Constitution, making unconstitutional changes in the federal system, and destroying brotherhood and unity, as well as the equality of the peoples... of Yugoslavia." In the last 3 years the group had written and distributed enemy slogans and pamphlets, held illegal meetings, and tried to form an enemy organization. BORBA of 31 May (Belgrade, page 12) reported that the two leaders received 7 and 8 years respectively, four others were sentenced to terms ranging from 3 1/2 to 5 1/2 years, while two minors were sentenced to 3 years each.

The 6 June 1985 issue of the Albanian-language daily RILINDJA (Pristina, page 9) reported and deplored in a brief editorial recent cases of "shameful" acts and vandalism: namely, damage to Orthodox and Catholic graves in Titova Mitrovica on 3 June, damage to the plaque commemorating war veterans from Vitimirica near Pec, and the beating of a 7-year-old Serbian pupil by a 36-year-old Albanian at the elementary school in the village of Varos in Urosevac Opstina.

JEDINSTVO of 22 May 1985 (page 7) reported that "certain Albanian families in Novo Selo and Lipa in Pec Opstina have become so arrogant that they have prohibited their Serbian and Montenegrin neighbors" from grazing their animals on common socially-owned pasturage. These families have, moreover, the article said, usurped about 100 hectares of social land and a large part of the adjoining mountain area.

Disagreement with this article, however, appeared in the 25 May issue of JEDINSTVO (page 7) in a statement signed by Janko Jankovic, president of the Pec Opstina LC Committee, which said parts of the article charging the Opstina LC with inaction were "tendentious, untrue, and unacceptable," noting also that problems of pastureland and access roads have arisen off and on for 20 years, that Albanian families in the areas are also victimized by Serbs and Montenegrins, and that sale under duress of cattle and farms, the killing and driving off of cattle belonging to Serbs, Montenegrins, and Moslems, as alleged in the article, had been reported by one Serb only to the local nation-wide defense and self-protection committees, but was unknown to the Opstina LC committee and presidency.

Conflicts over grazing land were apparently also the basis for the "vandalist attacks" reported in JEDINSTVO and RILINDJA on 23 May carried out by 25-30 members of the Hadzijaj family in Istok Opstina who destroyed shepherds' huts of 18 Albanian and 3 Moslem families on mountain pasture land owned by a socialized forestry enterprise.

According to the 13 May issue of JEDINSTVO (page 4) nationalist "excesses" occurred in Vitina on 4 and 9 May: "the group designated to sound the siren to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the death of Comrade Tito failed to do so, and on 9 May the televised transmission of the parade in Belgrade could not be received because of an electrical failure."

Finally, on 2 June 1985 issue of RILINDJA (page 7), in noting how good citizens are fighting nationalism and enemy actions, reported cases in which Albanians had prevented physical attacks against individual Serbs by Albanian nationalists in Titova Mitrovica and in the village of Crni Vrh in Pec Opstina; how pupils in a school in Klina had reported the student writing hostile slogans; and how Serbs in a village in Gnjlane Opstina had dissuaded other Serbs from erecting a blockade on the road leading to their village.

The article added that some Serbian and Montenegrin citizens in Titova Mitrovica had turned in to police letters they had received "from hostile emigre groups in Canada and Paris which defended and popularized rightists, such as M. Djilas, D. Cosic, and V. Seselj, and which contained articles by Djilas which attack our position and system."

CSO: 2800/355

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

GRAIN THEFT IN PODUJEVO--It has been proposed that seven LC members be expelled from the basic LC organization and seven other members given warnings or final warnings because of numerous weaknesses, mistakes, and machinations at the "Sloga" agricultural cooperative in Podujevo [Kosovo] over the last 3 years, but especially because of the recently discovered major theft of 42 [rail-] car loads of grain from the storage depot of the cooperative. The head of the depot, who has not yet been apprehended, and his colleagues stole in this way over 14 million dinars from the cooperative; others penalized included the three directors of the cooperative, Remzi and Osman Mucoli and Fazli Kadriu. The basic LC organization in the cooperative, because of opportunistic and other negative behavior, had managed up to now to successfully oppose efforts by a Comrades' Council to take action [Excerpts] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 21 May 85 p 2]

HRIBAR EXPELLED FROM LC--After examining articles Spomenka Hribar had written in DELO and NASI RAZGLEDI and discussing and polemicizing between communists, especially veterans, and following the conclusion of the basic LC organization at the Faculty for Sociology, Political Science, and Journalism in Ljubljana, the Ljubljana-Bezigrad LC Opstina Committee has expelled Spomenka Hribar from the Slovenian LC. It is clear that she [Hribar]... takes a theoretical and political position opposed to that of the LCY [in advocating reconciliation between wartime opponents and the erection of a joint monument honoring also non-communists]. In her statements at the LC meeting she again brought out the same ideas contained in her articles. She was not only not self-critical, ...but predicted "ruin" for our Yugoslavia and its people who are led by such a "party." She said, "I no longer want to belong to an organization which has rejected me. I do not want to share the responsibility for all that is happening now in our society. The policy of the LCY is leading Yugoslavia to catastrophe." [Excerpt] [Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 85 p 4]

FAMILY PLANNING IN MACEDONIA--A group of professors at the Economic Faculty in Skopje have initiated a family planning project in underdeveloped villages of Macedonia. This scientific project which is commissioned by the family planning council of the SAWP republic conference, is funded partly by the UN Fund for Demographic Activities. [Excerpt] [Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 4 Jun 85 p 8]